

## 3 Israelis seized in Lebanon; may be in Syrian hands

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT  
Post Defence Reporter

TEL AVIV. - Lebanese troops at a roadblock separating Phalangists and Syrian forces south of Tripoli yesterday detained three members of the Israeli liaison office near Beirut.

By late last night it was not yet clear whether the three were still in Lebanese hands or whether they had been turned over to the Syrians.

A terse announcement by the Foreign Ministry spokesman said that three members of the Lebanese-Israeli liaison office were detained by a Lebanese Army unit while they were on a trip north of Beirut. The spokesman added they had apparently lost their way.

The announcement did not name the three or say what their functions were. Their families have been informed.

The Phalangist Radio, Radio Free Lebanon, last night reported that three Israelis were in Syrian hands, according to a broadcast monitored by Kol Yisrael's Michael Gurdus.

The monitored broadcast said that the Israeli car was fired at by Syrian soldiers as it tried to turn back from a Syrian Army roadblock, and overturned. The three passengers were not hurt. The Syrian troops then forced Lebanese soldiers in the area to hand over the three Israelis.

The Israelis are now in Syrian

army hands, said the broadcast.

The Israeli liaison office on the coast at Debye, about halfway between Beirut and Jounieh, was established in line with the May 17, 1983, accords with Lebanon and its members have Lebanese diplomatic accreditation.

Yesterday the three apparently travelled along the narrow coast north of Jubayel reaching the Bar-hara el-Madfun area 22 kilometres south of Tripoli. They drove past the Phalangist roadblocks and then past the Lebanese Army's.

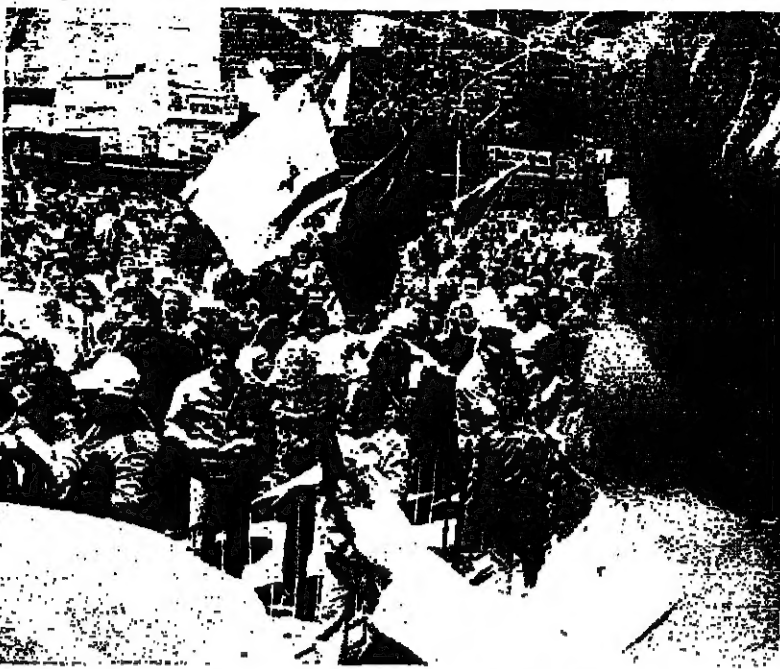
Reports reaching here indicated it was only then that realized their mistake. They started driving back towards the Christian lines. It was not clear whether they were shot at.

The three were then stopped by guards at the Lebanese Army roadblock.

The hilly area where they were stopped is favourable to former President Sulaiman Franjeh, which was considered here a bad sign because Franjeh has been close to the Syrian rulers.

A very well-placed source said last night that Israel was incessantly trying to secure the men's release. "We are making all sorts of attempts through all the channels we can think of," he said.

The source said he was unaware of any similar incident in the past where the Lebanese have detained Israelis.



May Day demonstrators in Haifa yesterday display flags and red roses. (Story on Page 2.) (Israel Sun)

## Berri rejects posts in Lebanon unity gov't

BEIRUT (AP). - The Christian camp caved in and Syria put pressure on reluctant Muslim militia leaders yesterday to join a national unity cabinet of political chiefs to try to end Lebanon's civil war.

President Amin Gemayel and his Syrian-backed prime minister, Rashid Karamah, stunned the nation on Monday by nominating Lebanon's principal war-lords to serve in a 10-man half-Christian, half-Muslim cabinet without consulting them.

The effort suffered a sharp jolt when Shi'ite opposition leader Nabih Berri immediately rejected his cabinet post as minister of justice, electricity and water resources. Gemayel and Karamah called the 45-year-old commander of the Amal militia several times by telephone and sent personal emissaries to meet with him in West Beirut yesterday.

The state-run Beirut radio said Syrian Vice President Abdul-Halim Khaddam also called Berri by telephone from Damascus to persuade him to change his mind.

By dusk yesterday, the Shi'ite leader irad made no new statement on his cabinet position, but the state radio said his "initial rejection appears negotiable" and Karamah told reporters he was confident Berri would reverse his decision soon.

"Don't worry, all problems have solutions and Berri is our friend and brother," the 62-year-old Sunni Karamah told reporters. "We have

cooperated before and we continue to cooperate."

Karamah, a veteran politician from northern Lebanon who has headed nine previous cabinets in the last 29 years, was an ally of Berri and Druse opposition leader Walid Jumblatt in the latest phase of the nine-year civil war.

Berri's office said the Shi'ite leader left Beirut to meet with Khaddam in Damascus, where Jumblatt had arrived earlier from Jordan and held a conference with the Syrian vice president.

Berri, who hails from Israeli-occupied South Lebanon, complained that the ministries assigned to him and Jumblatt would keep him far from decision making in the new government.

Jumblatt, 35, has not made a public statement on his nomination as minister of public works, transportation and tourism in Karamah's new cabinet.

President Hafez Assad's Syrian government, which backed Druse and Shi'ite militias in the latest

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 1)

## Four IDF soldiers hurt by bomb in South Lebanon

Four IDF soldiers were slightly wounded Monday when a bomb planted on a roadside east of Tyre went off as their patrol passed, the IDF spokesman announced Monday.

London police say:

## 'Dum-dum' bullets, guns found at Libyan Embassy

LONDON (AP). - Police said yesterday they found a cache of weapons and ammunition, including so-called "dum-dum" bullets, in the former Libyan Embassy and obtained "positive proof" that someone inside the embassy machine-gunned a Libyan dissident's rally two weeks ago, killing a British policewoman.

In one room of the building police found two Colt Cobra .38-calibre revolvers, each loaded with five rounds of "dum-dum" bullets. The bullets, with hollow heads, explode on impact and cause massive injuries. They are outlawed by the Geneva Convention.

Commander William Huckleby, head of Scotland Yard's Anti-Terrorist Branch, said a spent cartridge casing and traces of gunpowder had been found in a first-floor room close to the spot where witnesses reported seeing a gunman open fire with an automatic weapon.

Elsewhere in the embassy, Huckleby said, police found a second Colt .38, a Smith and Wesson .32-calibre revolver, a Barrett .25-calibre automatic pistol, spare rounds of .38 and .25-calibre standard British army issue - and ammunition, two Sterling pistol

grips and eight bullet-proof vests.

Huckleby said the discovery showed Libyan leader Mu'amar Gaddafi's denial of responsibility for the shooting to be untrue.

He added that Adel Sembawa, a counsellor at the Saudi Arabian Embassy brought in as an observer, was present when the weapons and ammunition was found.

On Monday, police and troops blasted their way into the building on St. James Square by blowing open a back door with a remote-controlled shotgun. The building had been empty since Friday, when 30 Libyans left the embassy after Britain ordered them expelled and broke relations with Tripoli.

Huckleby said police were now satisfied the embassy building was free of booby-traps, but they are still searching for explosives.

Home Secretary Leon Brittan, meanwhile, told the House of Commons that police believe "one of two" people inside the embassy, or people's bureau, opened fire on the anti-Gaddafi rally.

"Both of these possessed diplomatic immunity," he said. "They therefore could not have been prosecuted under English law even if the necessary evidence had been available."

## In Jewish terror probe

# Investigators look for 'underground command'

By ROBERT ROSENBERG  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Investigators into last Friday's attempted bombing of five Arab-owned buses are now trying to "pinpoint the command" of the suspected underground conspiracy.

Some of the suspects are expected to be charged with planting the bombs. Others are expected to be charged with being accessories before or after the fact. Still others - some of whom may not yet have been arrested - are expected to be charged with knowledge of the existence of the underground terror group and failure to report it to authorities.

The investigators, sources close to the inquiry said, have already noted that several of the suspects have less information about the group and its methods than others.

"It was the classic structure of a network of cells and now the effort is to pinpoint the command," said a source close to the inquiry.

He indicated that some of the suspects kept material, others provided transport, and others may have provided alibis in the past for some of the suspects, who have been questioned in the past about their roles in unsolved crimes.

The division of the network into at least two separate cells "requires the existence" of a command, said a source.

But the effort to "pinpoint the command" could yet move the investigation onto sensitive ground, conceded several sources, because as the investigation into the conspiracy concentrates on the leadership of the group it could reach a more political level.

Meanwhile, police sources denied a radio report last night which said

that some of the suspects have met with their lawyers.

Attorneys for several of the suspects are to argue today before a three-justice panel of the High Court that their clients be allowed to meet with them.

The police have so far used their authority to prevent such a meeting, and have the right to do so for up to 30 days, with progressively higher ranking officers signing the order each time.

The suspects have so far been kept incommunicado from each other and the outside world. Held at three separate lockups - in Jerusalem, Ashkelon and near Haifa - they only see their interrogators.

Their only contact with their families came yesterday when packages of medicines and religious articles - but no written messages - were delivered to them via National Police Headquarters.

## Shamir and Peres condemn Jewish terrorism

Jerusalem Post Staff

Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and Labour Party chairman Shimon Peres on Monday joined forces in a meeting of the Knesset Defence and Foreign Affairs Committee and condemned the attempted sabotage of Arab buses allegedly by a gang of Jewish extremists, mostly from the administered territories.

Shamir said that the arrest of the alleged Jewish terrorists by the security forces "prevented a catastrophe."

Shamir said it was regrettable that "there are those who are exploiting this affair to assail the character of the settlement enterprise in Judea, Samaria and the Golan Heights. An injustice is thereby being done to

those who are doing great things for their country and their people. This splendid settlement enterprise will continue despite the attempts to besmirch it."

But Shamir also regretted that Israel had had "to devote manpower and resources to preventing Jews from doing damage, instead of devoting them to felling plots by the nation's enemies from without."

Peres congratulated the General Security Services for breaking the Jewish sabotage ring.

He implicitly rebutted Shamir's statement, saying: "I haven't heard of attempts to make generalized accusations; I haven't seen anyone of us blaming all the settlers, or all the Gush Emunim members."

As to the Jewish terrorists, they were "trying to present us as being on the same level with the (Arab) terrorists," Peres said.

Michael Eilan adds:

Shamir came out with a vigorous defence of the settlements and settlers in the West Bank and the 50th Jubilee of the Herut-based National Labour Federation at the Jerusalem Theatre on Monday night.

"After the excellent efforts of the security services foiled the attempt by crazy people to sow murder and cause tremendous damage to the state, we must say, if anybody wishes to use this incident to degenerate the settlements programme: 'don't harm my messiah,'" he said.

## Price hikes fall short of inflation rate

By AVI TEMKIN  
Post Economic Reporter

For the first time in six months, the government this week deviated from its price policy, announcing price hikes which are less than inflation.

Despite a 17.8 per cent rate of devaluation of the shekel, the Energy Ministry yesterday announced a 9 per cent hike in fuel prices. In the past the ministry had said that the adjustment in prices should be in line with the rate of devaluation. (Fuel prices - page 3.)

The coalition majority in the Knesset Finance Committee on Monday approved a 10 per cent increase in the rates for postal services. The rate of increase requested by the Communications Ministry was 15 to 40 per cent.

Explaining the discrepancy, the coalition head of the committee, MK Yigal Cohen, said that adjustments should be made in accordance with the March rate of inflation. He denied that the decision had anything to do with elections.

Spokesmen for the Treasury and

the Energy Ministry yesterday denied that there was any deviation from previous policy. According to the Energy Ministry the price of fuel is determined by many factors, not only the rate of devaluation.

Two months ago, the ministry had explained to Deputy Prime Minister David Levy that large hikes in energy prices were made necessary by the rate of devaluation. This was after Levy protested about the large increases in energy prices and before the Knesset decided on early elections.

## Government printed IS12.7b. last month

By AVI TEMKIN  
Post Economic Reporter

The government printed some IS12.7 billion last month, the Bank of Israel announced yesterday. The central bank added that during April foreign currency reserves rose by \$3 million.

The monetary injection figures for April are based on new statistical definitions which permit the government to count part of the increase in foreign currency linked accounts (Fatam) as revenue. While this does not affect the status of the public's

accounts, it does permit the government to report smaller printing figures.

Last month the public deposited some IS18 billion in Patam accounts, of which the Treasury counted some IS12.5 billion as revenue. Thus the figure which would have been given under the old statistical definitions (used until a month ago) would have been IS25.2b.

Reacting to the figures, the Treasury declared yesterday that they are a sign that its policies of cutting expenditures are showing results.

The ministry said that last month there was a 17 per cent drop in government spending as compared with March, and 13 per cent as compared with the monthly average for fiscal 1983-84.

The ministry added that tax revenue showed signs of renewed stability after a long period of decreasing collection. Last month revenue taxes rose by some 6 per cent as compared with March. The ministry conceded that this was caused by the public's unwillingness to face linkage of tax arrears which started this month.

According to the ministry, some IS10.3 billion of the total monetary injection was used to finance its purchases of goods and services. In addition some IS2.4 billion was pumped in as a result of developments on the capital market.

During the last month, the ministry declared that it had spent some IS45.2 billion in the capital market, some 44.5b. to buy back bonds from the public and to pay for withdrawals from saving schemes, and some IS700 million to support the price of bank shares.

## Shamir criticizes 'angry-faced strongman'

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir yesterday said that a myth was taking shape about "an angry-faced boss who dominates his movement, tramples and crushes underfoot (his opponents), all are afraid of him, and both his opponents and supporters call his 'a rising force'."

Shamir was speaking at a ceremony yesterday in the Knesset where Likud MK Meir Shitrit was

awarded a citation as the most affable and well-mannered MK, contrasting him with "the angry-faced boss."

Perhaps such citations will put an end to the myth of "the strongman who tramples and crushes" said Shamir.

He praised Shitrit's tolerance. Shitrit said every public figure by his behaviour must serve as an example.

### To Our Readers:

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We thank you for your support and understanding, and will continue to make every effort to keep prices down as far as possible in the prevailing economic climate.

The Editors

## Washington braces for bitter fight over embassy

By WOLF BLITZER  
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON. - A serious split has surfaced within the Reagan administration over the battle with Congress regarding the location of the U.S. Embassy in Israel.

One of Secretary of State George Shultz's senior advisers, department counsellor Edward Derwinski, is now known to favour some sort of compromise with Congress on the matter.

But Derwinski, a former congressman from Illinois and a strong supporter of Israel, faces stiff opposition from the assistant secretary for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, Richard Murphy, and other career diplomats.

Shultz, who accompanied President Ronald Reagan to China, is due to return to Washington tonight. He has scheduled a high-level review of the matter in the coming days. Both

sides are gearing up for a bitter fight.

On Monday, the outgoing under-secretary of state for political affairs, Lawrence Eagleburger, insisted that the administration will not compromise with Congress on the issue.

Eagleburger said the administration believes very strongly that the U.S. Constitution mandates that the executive, and not the legislative branch of the government should determine the site of foreign embassies.

Addressing reporters at the government's foreign press centre, Eagleburger also said that the final status of Jerusalem should be determined before the U.S. Embassy is moved from Tel Aviv.

"We're opposed to any moving of the embassy," he said when asked about a front-page story in Monday's Washington Post suggesting that the administration may now indeed be prepared to compromise with

Israel's friends in Congress in order to avoid the enactment of pending legislation mandating the move of the embassy to Jerusalem.

There are currently 42 senators who have co-sponsored a bill introduced by Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan of New York to move the embassy. There are some 225 representatives who have co-sponsored parallel legislation in the House.

Administration officials noted that no final decisions will be made until Shultz completes his review. But The Washington Post, in its story said three specific options were under consideration:

• Moving the embassy to West Jerusalem, while keeping in force the present ban on embassy personnel conducting official business in East Jerusalem.

• Making the U.S. Consulate in Jerusalem an extension of the embassy in Tel Aviv, thereby putting

it under the authority of the U.S. ambassador to Israel. The consulate currently has an independent status, reporting directly to the State Department.

• Calling upon Jordan to begin peace talks with Israel on the city's future status by a "date certain," with the understanding that if Jordan fails to meet the deadline, the U.S. would transfer its embassy to Jerusalem.

Eagleburger, who is leaving office on Friday, testified against the Moynihan legislation before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in March.

The House Foreign Affairs Committee yesterday continued hearings on the embassy location. Among those testifying in favour of the transfer to Jerusalem were the Rev. Jerry Falwell, the Christian fundamentalist leader of the Moral

## Mubarak: Sever ties if embassy moved

CAIRO (Reuters). - President Hosni Mubarak said yesterday Egypt would sever diplomatic ties with any country that moved its embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.

In a speech marking May Day, Mubarak said Egypt broke its relations with Costa Rica and El Salvador last month "out of concern for protecting the legal and historic rights of 100 million Arabs, 800

million Moslems and one billion Christians in the Holy City."

Addressing workers in the Cairo suburb of Nasser City, the president made no reference to American Congressional consideration of moving the U.S. Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.

But Foreign Minister Kamel Hassan Ali said later that Washington opposed such a move.

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## The weather at major Swissair destinations

1.5.1984	MIN	MAX	WIND	WEATHER
AMSTERDAM	9	16	81	Cloudy
BRUSSELS	9	17	82	Cloudy
RUHRIGS AIRE	7	15	80	Cloudy
CHICAGO	4	10	82	Cloudy
COPENHAGEN	4	13	83	Cloudy
FRANKFURT	1	14	87	Cloudy
GENEVA	1	10	84	Cloudy
HELSINKI	5	11	59	Clear
HONG KONG	22	28	72	Cloudy
JOHANNESBURG	10	21	70	Clear
LONDON	13	18	84	Clear
MADRID	10	17	83	Cloudy
MONTREAL	7	18	86	Cloudy
NEW YORK	15	20	73	Clear
OSLO	13	19	72	Clear
PARIS	9	13	84	Clear
RIO DE JANEIRO	20	28	84	Cloudy
SAO PAULO	17	23	81	Cloudy
STOCKHOLM	8	13	70	Clear
TOKYO	11	22	86	Cloudy
TORONTO	5	11	84	Clear
WASH DC	9	11	82	Cloudy
ZURICH	1	10	87	Clear

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## THE WEATHER

Forecast: Partly cloudy to clear.			
	Yesterday's	Yesterday's	Today's
	Humidity	Min-Max	Max
Jerusalem	35	8-20	22
Golan	49	-18	21
Nahariya			
Safed	48	7-18	20
Haifa Port	57	14-20	21
Thessalon	30	12-27	27
Nazareth	30	10-20	22
Afula	51		23
Shimon	39	4-21	23
Tel Aviv	52	12-22	23
B-G Airport	47	10-23	24
Jericho	31	11-27	28
Qazaz	58	12-20	22
Be'er Sheva	22	8-25	27
Elig	11	16-32	32

## SOCIAL & PERSONAL

The Dutch Ambassador and Mrs. Maarten van Berckel held a reception at their residence in Herzliya on Monday in honour of the Queen of Netherlands' birthday.

World Wizo President Raya Jaglom gave a reception at her home last night to welcome the members of the first North American Wizo Mission to the President of the State of Israel.

A South African settlers golden jubilee, to mark the part settlers have played in this country during the past half century, will be held at the National Maritime Museum in Haifa by the regional committee of the South African Zionist Federation at 7 p.m. tomorrow.

The Haifa Rotary Club will hold a business meeting at the Nof Hotel at 1 p.m. today.

Moshe Wigdor, managing director of Yissum research development company, will speak on research and development at the Hebrew University at the weekly meeting of the Jerusalem Rotary Club at 1 p.m. at the YMCA today.

## In Memoriam

A memorial ceremony for Yitzhak Ben-Zvi, Israel's second president, who died 21 years ago, was held yesterday in Jerusalem.

## ARRIVALS

Alan Tigg, editor of *Hadassah Magazine*, from New York.

## BERRI REJECTS

(Continued from Page One)

round of the civil war, has declared support for Karamah's cabinet. "It is a national and courageous government," said an editorial in the Syrian government newspaper *Tishrin*. "The solution of Lebanon's troubles is not impossible if all stand with the Karamah government."

Lebanon's two most powerful Christian leaders, Phalange Party founder Pierre Jemayel and ex-president Camille Chamoun, head of the National Liberal Party, have agreed to serve in Karamah's new cabinet, their aides said.

Jemayel, 79, has been named minister of post, telecommunications, public health and social affairs. Chamoun, 84, was given the ministries of finance, housing and government cooperatives. "They have agreed to accept the jobs and have informed the president by telephone. They do not want to put spokes in the government wheels," said one Chamoun aide.

Both Pierre Jemayel and Chamoun publicly expressed reluctance to serve when their names were suggested for a "cabinet of political magnates" upon Karamah's designation to the premiership last week.

# HOME NEWS

## Herut starts choosing Knesset list tomorrow

By SARAH HONIG  
Post Political Reporter

TEL AVIV. - Tension in Herut is mounting preparatory to the first round of the party's internal elections tomorrow. Party leaders are anxious about the negligible campaigning by those opposed to Ariel Sharon, compared with Sharon's own energetic electioneering. It is thought that he will seek to cram the Herut Knesset slate with his own supporters.

It is already clear that for the first time since the First Knesset Menachem Begin will not be a member of the House. He and Economic Minister Ya'acov Meridor have declined to be candidates. Efforts are being made to persuade Begin to appear in the honorary 120th slot.

The chief contest is between Deputy Premier David Levy and Sharon for the second slot, after Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir. Shamir and Levy are united against Sharon and would like to see him preceded by both Defence Minister Moshe Arens and Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Orad. This tactic, if successful, could prevent Sharon from claiming the defence portfolio.

## Matzud ultimatum to NRP

Jerusalem Post Reporter

The Matzud executive committee decided yesterday to inform the National Religious Party that Matzud will run its own list if the question of its return to the NRP and the Knesset slots it will be allotted is not settled.

The candidates should be ranked on the basis of Chief Rabbi Avraham Shapira's proposal, Matzud said. This proposal requires, among others, that Matzud be given the

## Katzir urges 'clean' poll

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. - Former president Ephraim Katzir has called for a clean election campaign, free of verbal and physical violence. Speaking at a press conference here on behalf of the Am Yafe Am Ehad (A Beautiful People One People) movement, Katzir said every citizen in a democratic society must vote and must do so after carefully taking stock of what has been accomplished, what needs to be achieved, and in whom the citizen wants to put his trust.

"I hope the election campaign will stress what we have in common, not only what divides us," Katzir said.

## Air Force show on Independence Day

An overflight of Air Force planes and an exhibition of parachute jumping will be featured during next week's Independence Day celebrations in the Ramat Gan stadium. The other main holiday event will be the Bible quiz for Jewish youth which will take place in Jerusalem.

The slogan for this year's celebrations is "The Unity of Israel." Ya'acov Shtatz, head of the government's information services told the press yesterday.

The holiday will begin on Sunday night when 12 torches are lit on Mt. Herzl in Jerusalem. Among those

## Two policemen suspected of taking bribe

ACRE (Itim). - The National Police has begun an investigation of two Galilee District policemen, who are suspected of receiving a \$200 bribe from a state's witness in a recent drug case.

The charge is being investigated by the police internal investigations division.

The man who allegedly paid the

## Dimona man gets four years for raping sister

BEERSEHBA (Itim). - A 28-year-old Dimona resident was yesterday convicted of raping his 15-year-old sister and sentenced to four years in jail.

The district court here found the man guilty of raping his sister in his parents' house after threatening to kill her.

## TV consumer show kept off the air

Jerusalem Post Reporter  
The consumer affairs TV programme *Kolboiek* was taken off the air last night without warning or explanation. *The Jerusalem Post* later learned from the Broadcasting Authority spokeswoman that the programme, taped earlier during the day, was cancelled because of possible legal repercussions.

The topic of the programme was the "most preferred business" awards.

The authority had been hinting for a month that it has a super scoop. Apparently, it was to be an expose of the awards.

ADULT EDUCATION. - The two-day Third National Convention on Adult Education opens today in Tel Aviv, under the auspices of the Education Ministry.

should the Likud form the next government.

Many quarters in Herut report that while Sharon is campaigning hard, Shamir and Levy are resorting to almost a hands-off approach. Moreover, Sharon is the only top politician uncumbered by official duties and free to visit party branches almost daily.

But the greater fear in Herut is that Sharon is not only after the No. 2 spot. His real aim, it is said, is to get as many of his men as possible on the list. He would then form a faction of his own able to back his demands with pressure on the government and thus get the defence portfolio.

The elections system in Herut calls for two rounds. In the first, tomorrow, the 1,000 central committee members will elect a panel of 35 candidates who will fill the top Herut spots on the Likud list which would also incorporate Liberal and La'am candidates. In the second round, the committee members will rank the 35 on the list in groups of seven in a series of five ballots. Both tomorrow's vote and the second round on May 9 will be by secret ballot.

## second, sixth and ninth places on the NRP list.

The executive denounced the recently frustrated attempt to blow up the Arab buses in Jerusalem. It also denounced the "campaign of incitement being waged by the news media against Jewish settlement in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza District."

The executive pledged itself to do everything to expand and develop that settlement.

## Israel will annex 'vital' Jordan Rift, says Peres

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV (Itim). - In the context of a peace settlement, Israel will impose its sovereignty over the Jordan Rift, an area the Labour Alignment "sees as a vital security belt in the east," Labour Party chairman Shimon Peres said yesterday.

Peres said that if Labour forms the next government, the Alignment will place a special emphasis on developing the settlements in the Jordan Rift.

In a tour of the area yesterday, Peres visited settlements and an IDF outpost on the Jordan River.



President Chaim Herzog receives the blessing of Samaritan high priest Pinhas Ben Matzliah yesterday.

## Herzog visits Samaritans in Nablus

By GREER FAY CASHMAN  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Whatever the future political status of the administered territories, the Samaritans will never be cut off from their Israeli brethren, President Chaim Herzog pledged yesterday.

The promise was made during Herzog's official visit to the Samaritan community in Nablus. He is the first Israeli president to make such a visit, although he is not the first to have crossed the Green Line.

Since taking office, Herzog has visited settlements in Judea and Samaria as did his predecessor Yitzhak Navon.

The president was welcomed and blessed on behalf of the community

by High Priest Pinhas Ben Matzliah. Herzog was accorded a rare honour seldom given to non-Samaritans. The ancient Tora scroll, the scribe of which according to legend was the nephew of the High Priest Aharon, was opened in Herzog's presence in the Samaritans' centuries old synagogue.

The president also ascended Mount Gerizim, where the Samaritans claim, Abraham was told to sacrifice Isaac, and where each Passover they sacrifice a Paschal lamb.

The Samaritans believe themselves to be the direct descendants of the tribes of Manasse and Ephraim. In addition to the Samaritan community in Nablus, there is a smaller community in Holon.

## Closed doors for Anghelovici testimony

REHOVOT (Itim). - A three judge panel at the magistrate's court here which is trying the case of two men accused of robbing the grave of Tereza Anghelovici decided yesterday by a vote of 2-1 to hear testimony on burial procedures in the IDF behind closed doors.

The split decision in the trial of David Ehrenfeld and Meir Agassi came after a witness from the IDF's Burial Unit said that to make the procedures public would hurt the feelings of bereaved families.

The chief judge of the court, who dissented, said the reason given was not sufficient to close the proceedings to the public. The court then decided to take the testimony behind closed doors, but to review the matter again on May 8, at which time the testimony may be made public after all.

The defence called the Burial Unit witness, in an effort to show that the treatment given the remains of Anghelovici was the same as that given to IDF dead, and not disrespectful.

Also yesterday, Ehrenfeld, who is under treatment in a psychiatric hospital, was allowed to be absent from court.

## Ben-Eliezer says Begin urged bombing probe

Eilat (Itim). - Former IDF coordinator of activities in the administered territories, Tat-Aluf (res.) Binyamin Ben-Eliezer, yesterday said that former prime minister Menachem Begin "a number of times gave orders to investigate...the attempted assassination (in 1980) of the West Bank mayors."

"He demanded firmly not to relent in the matter," Ben-Eliezer said. Ben-Eliezer said that the assassination attempts persuaded him that a Jewish "underground" was active in the territories. But he said that he could not say with certainty that there was a link between those attacks and the sabotage attempt last week against Arab buses.

## Court commits singer to psychiatric hospital

TEL AVIV (Itim). - Singer-composer Shmuel ("Shmuelik") Kraus was found unfit to stand trial yesterday in magistrates court here and was ordered hospitalized in a psychiatric facility. The charges against him were suspended.

Kraus had been indicted for attacking three taxi drivers in January after his pet cat was run over, and with attacking and cursing patrons at a local night club. After being charged he was ordered to undergo psychiatric observation.

In court yesterday, Kraus proclaimed his innocence and claimed everyone was out to get him. "I accuse the entire State of Israel, the tax authorities, Kupat Holim, the Labour Party, Begin and Sharon," he said. "I thank the judge and hope we meet only on happy occasions."

On Thursday, May 3, 1984 a memorial service will be held for

CLILA AGAM

at the old cemetery, Rehovot at 4 p.m.

Yaacov Agam  
Lusternik and Trachtenberg  
Families

With deep sorrow we announce the death of our beloved

LILY TOBIAS

The funeral took place on Monday, April 30, 1984.  
Please refrain from condolence visits.

The Family

HEBREW UNION COLLEGE-JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION

mourns the passing of

Rabbi Dr. MEIR ELK

Fellow of the Jerusalem School

Alfred Gottschalk  
President

Michael L. Klein  
Dean

Our Beloved Husband and Grandfather

DAVID C. (Murphy) MEIER

has gone to be with his Lord.

The funeral will take place Thursday May 3, 1984 at 3:00 p.m. at the American Protestant Cemetery, Emek Refaim Street

Nancy Meier - Wife  
Elizabeth Meier - Granddaughter

CHANGE IN TIME OF PLANE ARRIVAL

Reinterment of the late

H. JEROME SISSELMAN

Coffin arriving by EL-AL 036 from New York at 3:25 p.m.  
Funeral at 5:30 p.m. on the Mount of Olives.

## Health Ministry has yet to give the nod 4 Histadrut hospitals ready for 'test-tube baby' operation

Jerusalem Post Staff

Four Histadrut Kupat Holim Clalit hospitals are set up to carry out *in vitro* ("test tube") fertilization, but still await Health Ministry approval, the health fund's spokesman said yesterday. This procedure would cost the woman nothing, the spokesman added.

He was reacting to an announcement by the ministry that it had given the green light to four hospitals to carry out this procedure for the shekel equivalent of \$700.

The four hospitals that may go ahead are Hadassah (Jerusalem), Sheba (Tel Hashomer), Rambam (Haifa) and Soroka (Beerseba), which is the sole Histadrut hospital to get approval. It is not one of the four mentioned by the health fund spokesman.

A source in the Health Ministry told *The Jerusalem Post* last night that the four medical institutions given the okay were chosen by a commission of gynecologists.

He added that the fertilization procedure is very expensive and that since the Kupat Holim Clalit gets a government subsidy, it would be performing the operation at public expense. The source also asked whether the health fund would be ready to cover the cost of the operation for its members even if it were done in non-Histadrut hospitals.

A total of 900 women are waiting for *in vitro* fertilization the Kupat Holim Clalit spokesman said. The state should help women needing such assistance without placing financial barriers in their way, he said.

## Officer disqualifies self in Hefetz case

PETAH TIKVA (Itim). - The president of the police disciplinary court, Nitzav (commander) David Kraus, yesterday disqualified himself in the trial of Nitzav-Mishne (assistant commander) Assaf Hefetz, the suspended head of the Tel Aviv District's Central Unit.

Hefetz is charged in the internal hearing with three violations of regulations: not carrying out an order, revealing classified information to an unauthorized person and revealing police matters without authorization.

The charges relate to Hefetz's four conversations with journalists about police mistakes in the handling of intelligence relating to the Lifta Gang, which is suspected of trying to blow up the Temple Mount Moslem shrines.

Kraus explained his decision by saying he did not "want to create an

opening for a charge of favouritism" and "to prevent possible slander."

The hearings have been postponed until a new court president is named.

Explaining his decision, Kraus said that he was identified in the media as "siding with the accused person" in the affair, and while "capable of judging the case at hand fairly," he preferred to disqualify himself and not leave open the possibility of being charged with favouritism.

Police Inspector-General Arye Itzvan yesterday asked the High Court of Justice to bring forward the hearing in the pending case relating to Hefetz.

The court has been asked to rule on the legality of Itzvan's suspension of Hefetz from duty.

The court hearing was scheduled for July 15.

## Nissim empowered to act on sanctions

Jerusalem Post Staff

The government yesterday authorized the justice minister to take emergency measures to guarantee that the labour action begun yesterday by the state attorneys does not stymie treatment of "critical matters," Israel Radio announced last night.

The state attorneys' sanctions seriously disrupted the work of the courts, a spokesman of the attorneys' organization said yesterday. The action was in support of wage

claims.

The spokesman, Eli Ben-Tovim, told *The Jerusalem Post* that the action was decided upon earlier by a general meeting in Tel Aviv of the attorneys, after talks with the government broke down.

The attorneys are refusing to appear in court or to deal with new cases.

The central committee of the Israel Bar Association yesterday announced its support of the attorneys' pay struggle.

## WASHINGTON BRACES

(Continued from Page One)

Majority, and Tom Dine, executive director of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), the pro-Israeli lobbying group in Washington.

At the news conference, Eagleburger did praise the currently strong state of American-Israeli relations, despite the disagreement over the embassy issue.

He insisted that the U.S. was always in a better position to influence Israeli policy when Israel felt secure and confident in American support. He said the U.S. would like to improve its relations with moderate Arab states as well.

Asked whether Washington would prefer a Labour-led government to take over, Eagleburger said it would be inappropriate to interfere in domestic Israeli politics. He simply expressed confidence that the U.S. would be able to "deal productively" with any Israeli government.

On Monday, Eagleburger completed three days of discussions with the visiting director-general of the Israeli Foreign Ministry, David Kimche. The main topic was U.S.-Israeli cooperation in the Third World, especially in Africa and Central America.

MINNIE BRENNER (Bloch)

formerly of Worcester, South Africa and Neve Aviv Club

passed away on May 1, 1984.

Mourning by

Her son, Archie Bloch

Brother, Michael

Daughters-in-law

Grandchildren and great-grandchildren.

For funeral arrangements, please phone 03-413761.

In deep sorrow, we announce the passing of our dear mother, sister, aunt and grandmother

LEA HOHAGE

The funeral took place yesterday, Tuesday, May 1, 1984, at the Holon cemetery.

The Bereaved: Zvi Hohage  
Renata Rosen  
Bernardo Koppel  
Miriam Selmon

the grandchildren, and all members of the family

TECHNION

ISRAEL INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

The Technion mourns the death of

LILY TOBIAS

and extends condolences to her family on their sad loss.

Both Mrs. Tobias and her husband, Philip Valentine Tobias, will long be remembered for their close and generous association with the Technion and the Faculty of Chemical Engineering

The British Olim Society Ltd., representing the Zionist Federation of Gt. Britain

mourns the passing of

JANUS COHEN

former Chairman of the British Zionist Federation and sends sincere condolences to his wife and family

Our dear mother, my sister

RITA MOOSBERG

widow of Dr. K.A. Moosberg

is no more

The funeral took place yesterday, May 1, 1984.  
Please refrain from condolence visits.

Sister, Susi Lewis

Daughters: Rael and Mordechai Shechter  
Yael, and Yeshayahu Grinberg  
Yehudit, and Yitzhak Biller  
and grandchildren



## Big May Day crowds around country

By DAVID RUDIN and ROY ISACOWITZ  
HAIFA. — Big crowds turned out yesterday for May Day celebrations throughout the country.

Scores of thousands of people paraded through the Hadera Ha Carmel quarter here yesterday as the city hosted the central event in the country's May Day celebrations.

Histadrut leaders including Secretary-General Yehoram Meshel and his deputy Yisrael Kessar, and Labour Party personalities including chairman Shimon Peres and Yitzhak Rabin, greeted the marchers as they passed the reviewing stand outside the Ora cinema in Herzl Street.

For many veterans the scenes of the long lines of marchers waving red flags, banners, placards and national flags were reminiscent of the days when the city was known as "Red Haifa".

The majority of participants were members of Na'amat, the Histadrut women's organization which is celebrating its 50th anniversary this year, and their families.

The main theme of the parade was "Stop the avalanche," a reference to spiralling inflation. The women, some of them pregnant and others carrying young children, demanded equal salaries and lower taxes for working mothers.

Organizers put the number of participants as high as 150,000, but independent sources said the figure was considerably lower.

A fleet of some 400 buses ferried the marchers to Haifa from all over the country, including some from across the Green Line and from religious areas such as Bnei Brak.

There were also hundreds of women from Arab towns and villages. In their marching groups, the number of red flags outnumbered the national ones by as many as four to one.

Several of the marchers threw roses onto the reviewing stand as they passed and there were cries of encouragement for Histadrut secretary-general-designate Kessar and Peres. But the lion's share of admiration from the marchers was reserved for Na'amat Secretary General Masha Lubelsky.

She told the women that their

demonstration was a protest against the deteriorating political and economic situation. Inflation was eating away at women's status, Lubelsky said, demanding new laws to ensure a minimum wage for women, full employment and equal pay with their male counterparts.

Meshel said that on this May Day the Histadrut activists were demonstrating for a working, creative Israel. He said the Histadrut sought peace and fraternity with workers in all democratic countries and at home.

The parade, which set out from Rehov Hanevrim at 10:45 a.m., took nearly two hours to pass. Earlier in the morning police and security forces sealed off the Hadera quarter to all private cars — only allowing buses and taxis to pass through.

The police spokesman said more than 600 security personnel from the police, army, Border Police and Civil Guard were on duty but no serious incidents were reported.

Most factories in the city and the Haifa Bay area were closed yesterday with the exception of firms in the science-based industries complex and private shops.

Thousands of people lined the streets to watch the parade but hundreds also took the opportunity of the holiday and the fine weather to enjoy themselves on the beaches.

In Tel Aviv, an estimated 20,000 members of youth and immigrant organizations marched from Histadrut headquarters to the Tel Aviv Museum. They were preceded by a marching band and carried banners calling for social and economic equality. The marchers included a large Arab youth contingent and members of the Histadrut central committee.

Several hundred members of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality held a rally in Malchei Yisrael Square. Rakah leader Meir Wilner and a number of Israeli Arab leaders addressed the demonstrators, who carried placards attacking censorship, the occupation of the West Bank and the occupation of Southern Lebanon.

There was a festive air in Afula, as 30-40,000 workers marched down the main street. The theme of the

march was "unity of the workers in town, village and settlement," and Jews, Arabs and Druze participated.

In addition to the main rallies, dozens of events, get-togethers and picnics were held at labour councils throughout the country. In Tel Aviv, local performers filled Beit Lessin on Monday night for an evening of youth movement songs and nostalgia. Several sporting events were held by the Hapoel sports organization.

In a radio broadcast to the country's workers, Meshel said that the May Day marches were an expression of the workers' demands for reduced inflation, stable prices, full employment and an equal sharing of the economic burden.

Secretary-General-designate Kessar told The Jerusalem Post that he was very pleased with the day's turnout. He said the spreading of the rallies over five locations (last year featured one central rally) had been most successful in that more people had been involved and each event had taken on its own character.

With most of Tel Aviv's school teachers out celebrating May Day, the city's beaches were filled with school children.

In Nazareth, thousands of Arab residents and members of Rakah marched through the main streets carrying hundreds of red flags, several national flags and placards proclaiming "We support a Palestinian state alongside Israel."

Rakah leaders sharply attacked what they termed the government's "racist policy" against Israeli Arabs and the war against the PLO in Lebanon.

Mayor and MK Tawfik Zayyad called the recent arrests in the administrative territories "a comedy of the liberal occupation" whose purpose is to divert attention from attempts by the government to attack Syria. He also criticized the Labour Party, claiming that if it returns to power it will continue establishing more settlements in the territories.

Rodi Gutman, a representative of the Communist Party in East Germany, pledged that his country will help Israeli communists and their political struggle.



The new IS100 coin, which will gradually replace the IS100 note, comes into circulation today. The 29mm. coin depicts a reproduction of a Hasmonian coin from the time of Mattityahu Antigonus on one side. It is 75 per cent copper and 25 per cent nickel. It weighs 10.8 grams. The coins are minted in Jerusalem and the Royal Mint of Canada.

## Absorption Ministry miffed by customs chief's proposals

By ARYEH RUBINSTEIN  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Last week's announcement by customs chief Mordechai Bareket of a proposed change in the customs exemptions now granted to new immigrants is strongly resented by Eli Artzi, director general of the Ministry of Immigrant Absorption.

A communique issued by the ministry spokesman describes Artzi's "consternation" over the announcement. It transpires that the reason for Artzi's feeling is not the content of Bareket's announcement, but that he failed to coordinate with Artzi.

Bareket's announcement said that he would propose to the Finance Ministry that the present exemptions be replaced by a subsidy or a grant to finance the customs duties.

## High school teachers call work dispute

By LEA LEVAVI  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The high school teachers division of the Histadrut Teachers Union declared a labour dispute on Monday to protest against proposed cuts in secondary school education. Ze'ev Wistrisky, who heads the division, said his union will strike the high schools at the end of the 15-day cooling-off period if plans to cut academic instruction by one hour and technological instruction by two are not scrapped.

The rival Secondary School Teachers Association withdrew its threat of a labour dispute on Sunday after reaching an agreement with Education Ministry Director-General Eliezer Shmueli. According to this agreement there will be no cuts in frontal teaching hours in academic subjects — to be decided by each school. The cuts, which will be from non-teaching hours, planned cuts in technological education were frozen for two weeks to give a team of ministry officials and teachers' representatives an opportunity to negotiate a compromise.

## Eli-Landau resigns Shekem chairmanship

TEL AVIV. — Herzliya Mayor Eli Landau yesterday handed over the chairmanship of the Shekem board of directors to Aluf-Mishne (res.) Yehuda Na'ot, who was elected to replace him. For the past two years, Na'ot has been director-general of the Shekem chain.

Landau's resignation is attributed to the pressures of his job as Herzliya mayor and his reported ambitions to seek a Likud Knesset seat.

The new director-general of Shekem, who replaces Na'ot, is Aluf (res.) Yohanan Gur, a former head of the IDF Quartermaster Branch.

## Many pupils left teacher-less on May Day

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Pupils from dozens of elementary schools in the north and central areas were sent home yesterday without warning when teachers exercised their right to stay away from work.

Although May Day is an optional holiday it is customary for notice to be given to employers.

Education Ministry spokesman Israel Cohen told The Jerusalem Post that sending pupils home from school without notification contravenes the ministry's regulations.

Cohen said that according to regulations principals are obliged to keep schools open for those pupils who do come and that, if that is impossible, principals notify parents 24 hours in advance so that they will not send their children to school.

## Shamir to address Rotary convention

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The Rotary clubs of Israel will open their annual convention at the Hilton Hotel here this evening and Prime Minister Shamir is to address the session. Other speakers at the two-day convention include Tel Aviv University rector Prof. Yoram Dinstein and MK Gad Ya'acobi.

Some 500 delegates will take part in the convention, representing the organization's 1,500 members spread among 44 clubs.

Last year, Tel Aviv Rotarians

donated \$50,000 towards the purchase of medical equipment for the Meir Hospital in Kfar Sava, and the Rishon LeZion club donated \$25,000 to Assaf Harofeh Hospital.

An agreement has been signed between the Rotary clubs of Israel and Spain to set up a student exchange programme. Israelis will go to Spain to study tourism and Spaniards will come here to study agriculture, said Rotary Governor Tuvia Lavie, who just returned from Spain.

## Shilansky plans meet on Nazis' defeat

By ROY ISACOWITZ  
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

TEL AVIV. — Israel will host an international assembly next year to mark the 40th anniversary of the defeat of the Nazis. The congress will be held in various parts of the country between May 5-10, 1985 and is being organized by the deputy minister in the Prime Minister's Office, Dov Shilansky.

Shilansky said this week that, while many countries will be celebrating the victory over Nazism next year, Israel will be marking the regime's defeat. "For the Jews it wasn't

a victory," Shilansky said. Some 100,000 people are expected to attend the opening of the conference in the Ramat Gan stadium, 20,000 from abroad.

Among those to be invited are relatives of Allied wartime leaders, such as Winston Churchill and Dwight Eisenhower and gentiles who helped save Jews.

The conference will also celebrate the "rebirth" of the Jewish people, Shilansky said.

A special stamp will be issued to commemorate the occasion, Shilansky said.

## Hadera power station completed early

HAIFA. — The fourth and final generating unit at the Ma'or David power station in Hadera came on line on Monday, two months ahead of schedule, the Electric Corporation reported.

The 350-megawatt-capacity unit will be run in for the first two months using heavy fuel oil, but will then be switched to coal. When in full production, the Hadera station will have a total generating capacity of 1,400 megawatts and will be able to meet 53 per cent of the country's power demands.

The corporation spokesman said the early completion of the fourth unit will result in a saving of \$9 million. That is how much it would have cost to produce the same amount of electricity from oil-fired units, he said.

The Hadera complex — including a jetty, pier head and 1.5 kilometre-long conveyor system for transporting coal straight from ships to giant on-shore stockpiles — has taken seven years to complete and cost \$900 million.

## Kiryat Shmona threat of municipal shutdown

By MENAHEM HOROWITZ  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

KIRYAT SHMONA. — Mayor Prosper Azran (Likud) said here yesterday that if the government does not bail out the town, Kiryat Shmona's debts will force him to close the municipality and stop all services.

Azran said that the town owes some IS270m., including IS100m. to the tax authorities and IS170m. to banks.

In the next few days, city workers' salaries are due to be paid in the sum of IS70m. But the municipality has no money, said Azran.

"All municipal services are collapsing and I'll have no choice but to close the city if the government doesn't cover our debts," the mayor said.

He added that the deficit began before Interior Minister Yosef Burg sent a panel to the town to check its financial condition prior to last fall's municipal elections.

## Seamen appeal to court over retirement fund

Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — The Marine Officers Union has appealed to the High Court to order the finance minister to show cause why the Seamen's Early Retirement Fund should not be activated.

The seamen's unions and the shipping companies have for many years contributed to the fund in order to enable seamen to retire at age 50 after 20 years at sea. The intention was to keep talented men at sea.

Activation of the fund is subject to the Treasury's agreement which has been withheld despite repeated prodding. Apparently it is feared that other groups of workers will demand similar conditions.

## Haifa sports stadium due for \$1m. renovation

Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — The city's Kiryat Eliezer stadium is to be given a \$1 million facelift, the municipality spokesman said on Monday. The project will be financed on a 50-50 basis by the city and the Sportot lottery.

The pitch will be dug up, a computer-controlled drainage system installed and fresh turf laid. A new athletic track will be marked out. The project also provides for a new training pitch, with lighting, on land adjoining the stadium.

The spokesman said the municipality had set aside the necessary money in its 1984-85 budget. The stadium renovation is one of two development projects to be undertaken by the city this fiscal year.

## IDF to operate radar on roads in S. Lebanon

By MENAHEM HOROWITZ  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

METULLA. — The military police are to start operating several radar devices along the roads in southern Lebanon soon, in an effort to stop speeding and cut down the number of traffic accidents involving IDF vehicles.

Sgtan-Aluf Shlomo, head of military police in Northern Command, said that some army drivers think that if they speed, they will not be so vulnerable to terrorist attacks. But this is not true, he said.

## Fuel prices rise by 9%

Jerusalem Post Reporter  
Fuel prices went up at midnight by 9 per cent, in line with the Treasury and Energy Ministry policy of raising fuel prices in accordance with the expected devaluation of the sheqal.

The timing of this price rise — the previous hike was on March 28 — enabled the government to stick to its policy of regular monthly fuel price increases without adding to the April consumer price index. The CPI usually takes a big jump in April due to increases in government fees and municipal rates.

The new and old fuel prices are as follows:

	New price	Old price
Petrol 91 octane (litre)	IS101	IS93
Petrol 96 octane (litre)	119	109
Diesel fuel (litre)	81	74.40
Kerosene (litre)	85	77.60
Cooking gas (12-kg. canister)	1,620	1,480

(All prices include VAT)  
Energy Ministry Director-General Uriel Linn, speaking this week at a conference of fuel company representatives, said that he will recommend that fuel prices be raised on the same day every month to "save headaches." Linn said that last year Israel spent \$1.02 billion on fuel and that 97 per cent of the country's fuel is imported.

## Bakers warned not to cut bread supply

By AARON SITTNER  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Bread bakers in the North were warned yesterday not to disrupt the supply of loaves while they press their demands for higher subsidies.

The warning came from Yehoshua Forer, director-general of the Ministry of Industry and Trade, at a meeting with Yohanan Aharonson, chairman of the Bakers Association of Northern Israel. Speaking for his members, Aharonson complained that profitability of price-controlled and subsidized varieties — *halva* (white bread) and *lechem shid* (so-called "75¢" bread made of unbleached wheat flour) — has fallen by 20 per cent in the past five years.

Therefore, bread bakers want to stop producing these breads and supply only the non-price controlled "fancy" loaves, and rolls. Forer to his members.



An earthenware lion of the late Israelite period is part of the new Reuben and Edith Hecht Museum of Archeology and Art in Haifa.

## Art and archeology museum to open in Haifa

HAIFA. — A unique museum is to open its doors on Monday evening in Haifa. Located on the Haifa University campus, the museum — the Reuben and Edith Hecht Museum of Archeology and Art — will be the only university-owned and operated museum in the country.

The museum's collection of Israel archeology dates from the time of the patriarchs, the kings and the divided nations of Judah and Israel, as well as including items from the Second Temple period. The collection was put together by Dr. Hecht, a leading Haifa businessman, during the past 50 years.

The opening of the museum is part of the 12th annual meeting of the board of governors next week.

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Libyans carrying diplomatic bag as they prepared to leave the 'People's Bureau' in London last week



# The World

## Casey, Senate Patch Things Up On Nicaragua

William J. Casey, the Director of Central Intelligence, must have found it awkward to apologize. But with the survival of the Administration's military support of the Nicaraguan rebels hanging in the balance, Mr. Casey swallowed hard and authorized an on-the-record apology to the Senate Intelligence Committee last week.

The committee complained that it "was not adequately informed in a timely manner" of the C.I.A.'s role in mining Nicaraguan harbors, adding that Mr. Casey "concurred in that assessment." At the same time, Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan of New York became vice chairman again. He had quit to protest the mining, which, Mr. Casey said, has ended.

The requests for Central American military aid are to come before a Senate-House conference committee this week. The Senate has approved \$21 million for the Nicaraguan insurgents and \$61.7 million for the El Salvador Government. The House has approved \$32.5 million for El Salvador and no additional money for Nicaragua operations.

Washington says it is acting in the collective defense of El Salvador and other Central American countries against subversion by Nicaraguan-supported guerrillas. The United States has also urged free elections, a plea echoed last weekend by Nicaragua's nine Roman Catholic bishops, who said the voting should also be open to the rebels. But Daniel Ortega Saavedra, the junta coordinator, rejected the bishop's proposal, contending it was "oriented by the C.I.A."

Nicaragua, he added, was placing little faith in the mediating efforts of the five nearby countries known as the Contadora group. The group's foreign ministers, from Mexico, Colombia, Panama and Venezuela, were to meet again today with Central American officials.

Taking its case against the United States to the World Court, Nicaragua asked for an interim ruling enjoining Washington from supporting the insurgents. Davis R. Robinson, a State Department lawyer, denounced the complaint as "propaganda" and urged dismissal. Besides, he said, Nicaragua has not recognized the court's authority. But Carlos Arguello Gomez of Nicaragua said his country had gone before the court in a 1960 dispute with Honduras. The court, which has no enforcement authority, was expected to hand down a preliminary ruling within 15 days.

## Second Thoughts On Who's Ahead

Nikita S. Khrushchev was better at phrases than predictions, judging by the more modest appraisals of communism's competitive position emanating from the Kremlin last week. In 1959, Mr. Khrushchev concluded an impromptu debate with Western correspondents over the relative staying power of capitalism and communism with the prediction, "We shall bury you." Mr. Khrushchev followed this up in 1961 with a party program that foresaw the impending triumph of the Soviet system, with the disappearance of physical labor in the 1980's and a shorter working day and a higher per capita output than in the United States by the 1970's.

A new party program is in the works for adoption by a congress in 1986. The latest Kremlin leader, Konstantin U. Chernenko, told those working on the document last week that while capitalism is doomed by history, "it still possesses quite substantial and far from exhausted reserves for development." As Leonid I. Brezhnev had done before him, Mr. Chernenko advised the party ideologists to eliminate the confident forecasts as well as "figures and all sorts of minor details." Concentrate, he said, on specific domestic and foreign policy issues.

Presumably Mr. Khrushchev's optimism was proving an embarrassment. According to official Soviet statistics, industrial productivity is still only 55 percent of that in the United States and agricultural productivity is no more than 25 percent. The gap between the Soviet Union and the capitalist democracies in the use of heavy physical labor and in the length of the working day has widened since 1961, except possibly for the large number of malingers whom Yuri V. Andropov used to denounce so frequently.

## Dominicans Riot Over Austerity

The kind of disorder that shook the Dominican Republic last week has become familiar in third world nations facing bankruptcy. Under pressure from the International Monetary

Fund, the Government raised the price of basic foodstuffs in an effort to reduce its deficit and qualify for a loan of \$450 million. There followed three days of rioting and looting in Santo Domingo and other cities. More than 50 people died and 4,000 were arrested.

President Salvador Jorge Blanco, a moderate leftist, blamed the "systematically directed" riots on the conservative Reformist Party, former military officers and extreme left groups. Unlike President Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia and King Hassan of Morocco, who yielded to rioting in January, Mr. Jorge Blanco declared that "we shall not deviate one



Scidler holding a riot suspect in Santo Domingo last week.

step" from the price policy. Nevertheless he promised to keep some food subsidies and to increase wages of the lowest-paid workers. About 40 percent of the labor force is either unemployed or can get only part-time work. The Bolivian Government faced further strikes last week as it too tried to conform to an I.M.F.-imposed program of reduced food subsidies.

Mr. Jorge Blanco has been trying to lessen the Dominican Republic's dependence on agriculture by attracting new investment. Sugar still accounts for 40 percent of exports, followed by coffee, cocoa, bananas and tobacco. As commodity prices and therefore earnings have fallen, the cost of imports, notably foodstuffs and oil, has risen and the Caribbean nation of 5 million people is wrestling with an external debt of more than \$1 billion. Earlier this month, the President came to Washington looking for help. His visit was preceded by advertisements in American newspapers by Dominican businessmen warning of "political unrest and civil instability." When the disorder came, it was the worst since 1965, when President Johnson sent in American troops to end civil war.

## Spring Offensive In Afghanistan

The ebb and flow of Moscow's four-year-old war in Afghanistan cannot be verified by independent reporting, but it seemed clear last week that the fighting had become intense. In Washington, Administration officials said a major Soviet offensive was under way against Afghan insurgents with high- and low-altitude bombers, paratroops and a mechanized division with 500 vehicles including tanks and armored personnel carriers. There was other fighting at Herat in the west, Kandahar in the southwest and along the Afghan-Soviet border, they said.

An official Afghan broadcast partially confirmed the reports. Kabul claimed victory over the rebels in the strategic Panjshir Valley, which accounts for 50 miles of the route linking Kabul, the capital, and the Soviet border. However, spokesmen for rebels in the valley (who reportedly totaled 10,000, including women and children) said some of them were still fighting and that others had retreated to mountain refuges.

In Peking, which joins the United States in condemning the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, President Reagan cited "the brutal invasion" in a speech to Chinese leaders.

The level of fighting, which intelligence officials said involved more than 14,000 of the 108,000 Soviet troops, rose early this month; a 12-month truce between the Government and Ahmad Shah Masood, a rebel leader, expired in January. Diplomats in New Delhi said the rebels destroyed 20 yards of a bridge 55 miles north of Kabul, and had also periodically raided a Soviet airfield. Western intelligence said 5,000 Soviet soldiers and airmen have died in combat or by illness and 10,000 have been wounded since the Soviet invasion in December 1979.

Milt Freudenheim and Henry Gholger

## The Army and Uncle Sam Have Their Ways to Influence the Election

# Fishbowl Democracy in El Salvador

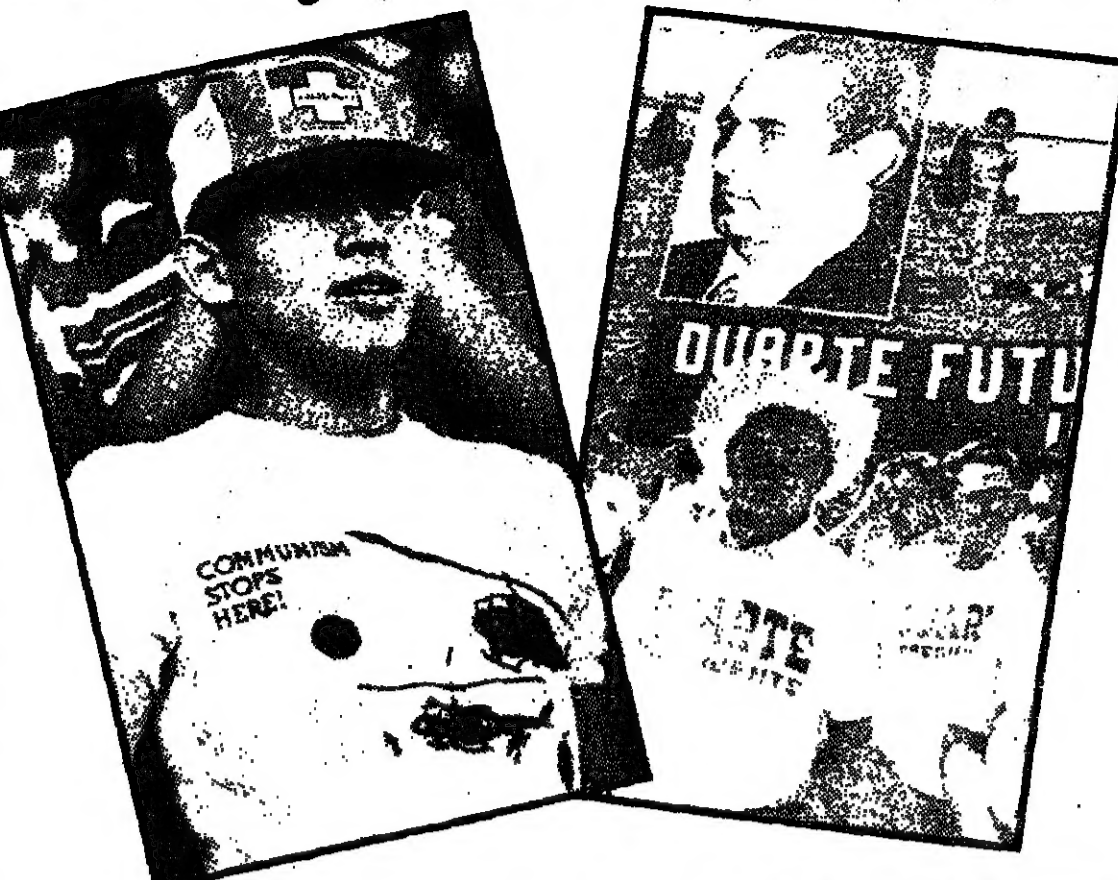
By LYDIA CHAVEZ

SAN SALVADOR — The Salvadoran army and the United States Embassy stepped in with their own candidate for provisional president two years ago, when the newly elected Constituent Assembly tried to give the job to Roberto d'Aubuisson. Former Ambassador Deane R. Hinton, a diplomat recalled, was "responsible for the Government — He's the one that burst their heads together." The result was a government headed by a political independent, Alvaro Magaña, and a commission with representatives from all legal political parties.

This year, the American Embassy and the army have played a quieter but watchful role in the presidential campaign that culminates next Sunday in a runoff between Mr. d'Aubuisson and José Napoleón Duarte, the candidate of the moderate Christian Democrats. For example, when the Central Elections Council complained of weariness during the laborious counting after the first round on March 25, Ambassador Thomas R. Pickering bluntly reminded them that their work was more important than their beauty sleep, an American diplomat said. Embassy officials later met with Francisco José Guerrero, the conservative candidate whom they had preferred, before he announced his neutrality in the runoff. Mr. d'Aubuisson had offered Mr. Guerrero's party four Cabinet ministries; Mr. Duarte offered him virtually nothing to stay neutral. However, Mr. Guerrero and the embassy maintain that he had made up his mind long before his chat with the Americans.

Mr. d'Aubuisson is campaigning with a frenzy suggesting desperation. "The crucial hour for the future of our country has arrived, and it is now or never," he said in a radio commercial last week. "God save El Salvador, because El Salvador will save (North and South) America." The former army major has concentrated on the countryside. Although his party is built around opposition to land reform, he has asked landowners to lend a few acres to the campesinos for planting. Mr. Duarte, who has said that he will call for a national dialogue aimed at including the left in legislative elections in 1985, and that he will rid the country of officials who abuse human rights, has spent most of the campaign in the walled garden of his home. "People are so upset because of the (March 25) results that they would probably try to kill him," a Salvadoran businessman said.

When Mr. Duarte was reported to have suggested he would disband one of the country's three security forces — a statement he later denied making — a group of army officers sent a memorandum to the Defense Minister, Gen. Eugenio Vides Casanova, asking him to inform the winner that only the army can make structural changes in the armed forces. "Anyone who wins will not be able to be too extreme, or we will be there," an army official warned. Both the



Supporters of presidential candidates Roberto d'Aubuisson and José Napoleón Duarte.

army and the American Embassy seem to be preparing for a victory by Mr. Duarte, however. He was first with 43 percent of the vote in March. Mr. d'Aubuisson got 29 percent and Mr. Guerrero was third with 19 percent. In November, rumors from the high command suggested that the armed forces would never accept Mr. Duarte, implying that a coup would keep him from power. Working indirectly, the United States has since tempered the military's feelings.

### Liberalism Under Control

American officials here and Salvadoran political analysts doubt that the United States would walk away from El Salvador if Mr. d'Aubuisson was elected, despite the strong feelings about him in Congress. Nonetheless, army officials were shaken after Vice President George Bush came here in December and warned that the military risked losing the support of the American people if they did not get rid of officials who participated in death squads. The publicity surrounding rejection of Mr. d'Aubuisson's application for a United States visa in November and again last month, and frequent mentions of him abroad as a reputed leader of right-wing death

squads, seemed to mellow the army's antagonism toward Mr. Duarte.

The army knows how dependent it is on aid from Washington, a United States official said, "they aren't going to play with that." Moreover, the armed forces, Salvadoran Government officials, and the Americans are saying that Mr. Duarte's more liberal tendencies can be controlled. Western diplomats believe he may try to make an example of some army officials widely suspected of activities against civilians. It is unclear how the army, a tightly knit organization that likes to take care of its own, would react. The memo the officers sent to Defense Minister Vides Casanova was perhaps a warning. However, one army official said that the new President would be able to make some personnel changes.

Mr. Duarte himself said before the March 25 vote that there would be some problems if he won. He promised to include all sectors of Salvadoran society in his Government and to block attempts to destabilize it from the outside. Mr. Duarte must make room for the far right in his Government, a businessman said, "otherwise, he would confront subversion from the right and the left."

## Direct Elections Were Blocked by Congress Last Week

# Brazil's Military Rulers Won't Retreat

By ALAN RIDING

BRASILIA — Brazil's ruling armed forces have repeatedly announced the country's imminent return to democracy, but as the assigned moment approaches they are proving reluctant to surrender the vast power they have accumulated over the past two decades.

Last week with a state of emergency declared in the capital, the military Government mobilized enough support in Congress to defy seemingly overwhelming popular sentiment and block a constitutional amendment calling for direct presidential elections in November. The amendment fell 22 votes short of the two-thirds majority needed to forward it to the Senate.

President João Baptista Figueiredo, an army general, is insisting that his successor be chosen by a 686-member Electoral College, in which the military's influence remains strong. The military leaders have hinted that they might seek agreement with the opposition on a civilian candidate but appear determined to have the last word.

The recent performance of the Figueiredo Government has puzzled politicians in both official and opposition ranks. Although its overall economic performance has been poor after the end of the "miracle" boom of the 1970's, it won considerable popularity by ending press censorship, proclaiming a political amnesty and permitting direct elections for state governors in 1983.

But over the past four months, the military has seriously tarnished the image it had built as one willing to step out of power gracefully. As a result, antimilitary sentiments that have surfaced only intermittently since the 1964 coup threaten to create a new political problem.

Many political observers trace the change in the Government's behavior to the return of democracy in neighboring Argentina, specifically the experience of watching former junta members and generals in that country being arrested on charges of abuse of power.

Compared to Argentina, where between 5,000 and 20,000 people disappeared, the human rights record of Brazil's military seems relatively innocent. According to Amnesty International, 81 people were killed and 45 disappeared during the fight against leftist guerrillas here between 1966 and 1975. Some 10,000 people were forced into exile.

"Argentina has revived many of the forgotten fears of those who carried out the repression," a civilian official said. "There is a feeling

that the armed institution might be threatened, might be demoralized by a democratic government, and that's the risk they don't want to take. In that sense, the Argentine process has delayed the Brazilian process."

Many opposition politicians, however, believe the Figueiredo Administration is more vulnerable to investigation of numerous simmering corruption scandals. Businessmen have the feeling that this is the most corrupt of the country's five successive military governments, but so far all efforts to investigate illicit enrichment by both

civilian and military officials have been stymied. Perhaps no less an important element in the armed forces' reluctance to bow out is the taste it has acquired over the past 20 years for the perquisites of power — not just the fact of governing but also the benefits it has derived from the huge growth in the state bureaucracy.

The military rulers were regarded as pro-business capitalists who gave scant attention to economic problems. In fact, they expanded the state's economic role, not only assuming control of all strategic areas, but also subjecting the private sector to numerous controls.

Today, eight big state enterprises in such sectors as oil, steel, electricity, communications, mining and minerals, manage annual budgets totaling some \$50 billion and provide jobs for thousands of active or retired generals, colonels and majors.

Within the military elite, a group trained in intelligence activities has also come to dominate recent governments and has tended to view the question of development through the prism of national security. The group has thus appointed itself the exclusive guardian of the nation's future.

Some obstacles to the total withdrawal of the armed forces from politics therefore seem to be almost psychological. "The military really think they do things best," an opposition politician said. "They don't think they can trust the country to civilians."

Many members of the armed forces appear offended by the thought that some of the civilian politicians should be the same people who were ousted as dangerous radicals in 1964. For many officers, the retention of power is justified simply by the prospect that direct elections might bring to office the socialist Governor of Rio de Janeiro, Leonel Brizola, a key figure in the leftist Government of João Goulart that fell 20 years ago.

As opposition politicians now embark on a period of negotiations to work out the succession rules and perhaps a successor to General Figueiredo next March, many officials therefore believe that the military will insist on a transitional administration which it can partly control, thus creating a safe parenthesis between authoritarian and democratic rule. The parenthesis proposed by General Figueiredo would last four years during which the authority of Congress and the judiciary would be increased. One possible compromise would shorten the transition to full democracy to two years but this may be too fast for the military.



Brazilians demonstrating for direct Presidential elections in Rio de Janeiro this month.



## Karami Became Prime Minister Again Last Week

## Beirut's Mood, Now That More Outs Are In

By THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

BEIRUT, Lebanon — With the appointment last week of Rashid Karami as Lebanon's new Prime Minister, two rather different moods seemed to descend on Beirut at once. The first was a widespread feeling that after almost two years of nonstop civil violence, Lebanon might be headed for a period of relative calm. The second was an equally strong impression that the country's troubles were anything but finished.

The agreement on the pro-Syrian Mr. Karami finally brings the Lebanese Moslem opposition back into the corridors of state power and redresses the imbalance that has existed ever since the administration of President Amin Gemayel took office in September 1982. That imbalance was the source of much agitation during the last two

years. The Christians, and more particularly the Phalange Party, dominated decision-making, to the great disgruntlement of the Moslem majority.

With Mr. Karami in office, the foxes, so to speak, are now in charge of the henhouse. His allies, Druse leader Walid Jumblatt and Shiite militia chief Nabih Berri, are expected to join his Cabinet. Together, they will be able to influence from the inside the Lebanese Army and Government bureaucracy they had worked to undermine during the last few months. This cannot help but be a source of stability.

The Cabinet, which will also include prominent Christian political figures and militia representatives, will be able to serve, in effect, as a permanent floating cease-fire committee. Previously, dialogue between the factions took place either through the boom of heavy artillery or under the intense glare of reconciliation confer-

ences in Switzerland. The new Government is expected to provide a more comfortable and permanent forum for negotiations.

Another reason Beirut residents are expecting at least a few months of truce is that no one can afford to go on fighting. The Lebanese conflict managed to last for a decade largely because, until about two years ago, business remained relatively good. The Lebanese found they could have lots of both guns and butter, so why give up either? No longer. The sustained fighting, the closure of Beirut port and airport and the breakup of the country have created an epidemic of bankruptcies and the pressure at last seems to have filtered up to the militia bosses.

But while this mood of impending truce is prevalent in Beirut, it is in constant competition with the equally prevalent feeling that nothing is finished — that everyone is still manning his barricade along the confrontation lines and that there should be no mistaking this protracted cease-fire for a real peace.

It was striking that on the day Mr. Karami was appointed Prime Minister, the Beirut press carried reports of a "television war" between the Christian-controlled station in East Beirut and the Moslem-controlled station in West Beirut. The West Beirut news crew accused the East Beirut station of jamming their nightly newscast. Since the national network split in February, the two stations have provided their own news programs, which are so different in tone and content that they might as well be coming from different countries.

## Obstacles to Give and Take

Reuniting the state-owned news media, however, will be the least of Mr. Karami's problems. True, his Cabinet may resemble a permanent Lausanne conference, but it must always be remembered that the original Lausanne meeting was a total failure and for deep-rooted reasons.

As the conference demonstrated, the Lebanese are split into two basic factions — those who can't give and those who can't take. After nine years of fighting, the Christian Lebanese Front is unable to make real concessions on power-sharing with the Moslems. "After all," the Christian militants ask themselves, "did we make all of these sacrifices for nine years and lose so many of our sons in order to give concessions to the Moslems?" Better to stall, they reason, in hopes that the Israeli and American elections, or instability inside Syria, will produce a change in the balance of power that will make substantial concessions unnecessary.

The Druse and Shites, meanwhile, can't accept the paltry concessions that the Christians might be ready to toss them. They, too, are asking themselves, "Did we put up with all of this destruction in the Shuf mountains and the Beirut southern suburbs in order to get three more seats in the Parliament?"

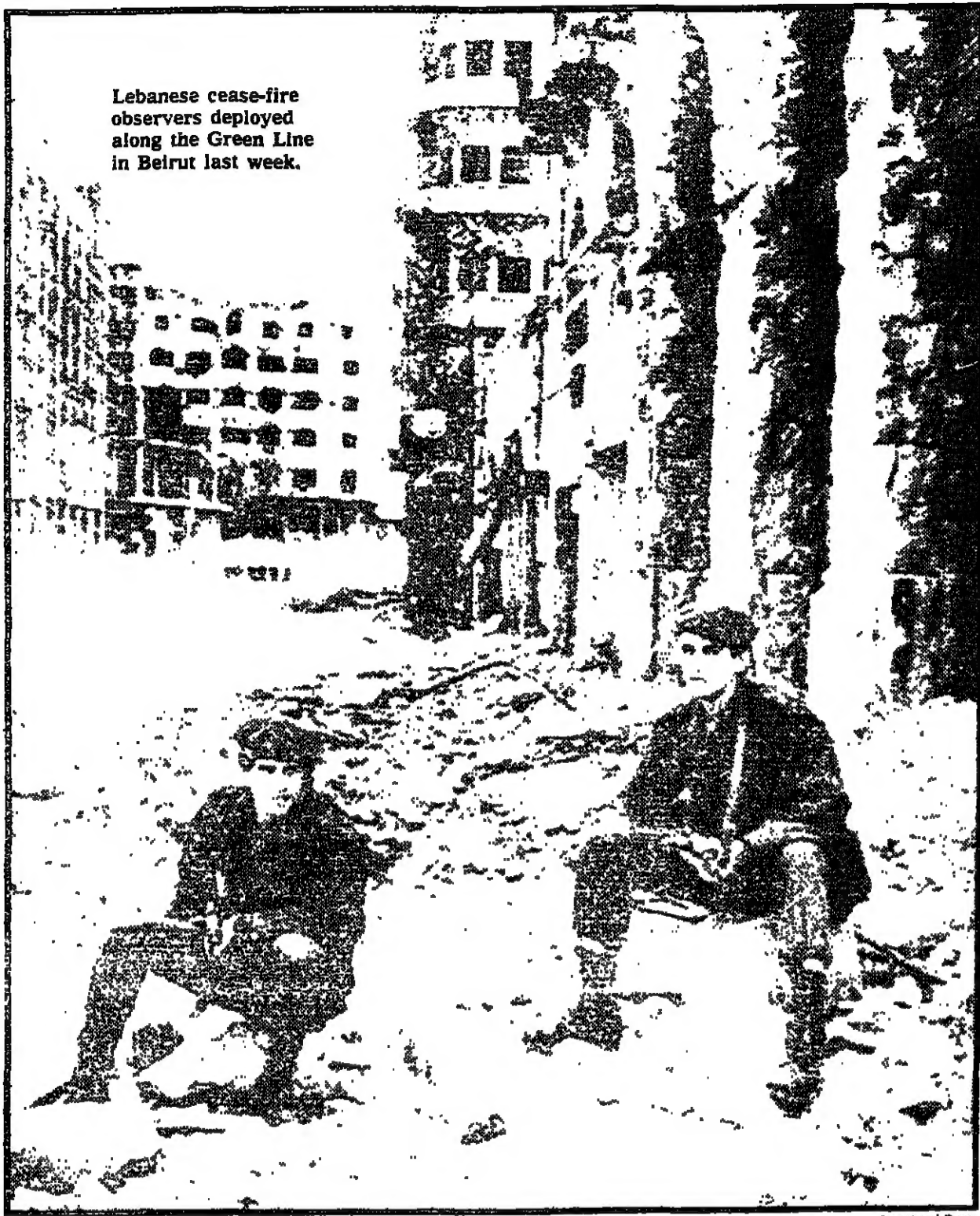
As a result, the long-term outlook for a meeting of minds remains bleak, and even more so considering that the Syrians and Israelis are still inside Lebanon and still playing power chess with one another through their Lebanese proxies. Neither country shows any inclination toward leaving soon.

Despite the abrogation of the May 17 accord, under which Israeli troops were to have been withdrawn, the relationship between Israel and Lebanon's Christians remains unaffected. The Israelis maintain an office in East Beirut and the Phalangists have a bureau in Jerusalem, where they can look for and still find substantial backing for undermining Syrian influence in Beirut. The Moslems have a similar relationship with Damascus.

As long as the Syrians and Israelis find it necessary to play out their rivalry through the Lebanese, real internal reconciliation is likely to remain a fantasy.

How Mr. Karami is going to break this vicious cycle — let alone deal with serious internal problems such as refugees, missing persons and housing — is not clear. He is not exactly a revolutionary figure, having been Prime Minister nine times since 1955 and having provoked his own share of Lebanese crises along the way.

"In Lebanon," remarked former Prime Minister Selim al-Hoss, "there is nothing left to do anymore that's easy. Everything now is difficult. Everything."



Lebanese cease-fire observers deployed along the Green Line in Beirut last week.

Associated Press

## Qaddafi and Thatcher Square Off

## The Libyans Are Exporting Their Revolutionary Ardor

By RICHARD BERNSTEIN

TRIPOLI, Libya — The weekly newspaper *Zahf Al Akhdar*, a kind of official ideological journal, published a cartoon on its back page last week that, after the break in diplomatic relations with Britain, seemed to illustrate this country's view of its place in the world. The cartoon represented Libya as a small two-story building with gun barrels pointed at it from all sides. The arrows were labeled "racism," "hatred," "maltreatment," "harassment" and "propaganda" — all threats to Libya posed by what are commonly called the imperialist countries. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher held a revolver.

The cartoon was part of the Libyan response to the embassy dispute, which typifies the country's generally belligerent approach to international affairs. The London incident, in which a policewoman was killed by gunfire directed, the British say, from a window of the Libyan Embassy, seemed to call for at least an apology and the removal of the gunman by the Libyans. Instead, Libya from the outset proclaimed that it was not the perpetrator but the victim. The controlled press poured out vitriol against the British and the Americans, who were called the behind-the-scenes masterminds of a "secret plot" hatched by Mrs. Thatcher's Government "to launch a siege on the diplomatic mission building and to change it into a center in the service of American and British imperialism." The building was emptied last week of its 30 occupants, who returned home at the same time the British mission in Tripoli was repatriated.

Diplomats here, who have seen Libyan mobs burn down the American, French and Jordanian embassies in recent years, noted greater moderation this time. There were no mobs at the British Embassy, for example, and the door appears to have been kept open for a resumption of relations. But Libya's general belligerence is seen as an extension of Libya's domestic experience over the last few years. It has largely consisted of an effort led by Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi to impose an often visionary and unsettling series of changes on what has been for centuries a highly conservative society.

Here in Tripoli, a half-modern, half-ancient city of pastel-colored houses and minarets hugging the bright Mediterranean shore, many of the changes sought by Colonel Qaddafi are clearly visible. On the streets, women veiled from head to toe in traditional Arab dress suggest the persistence of custom. But there are new institutions and experiments as well — local peoples' congresses open to all citizens, military academies for girls, economic programs aimed at bringing about a socialist

system. Hovering above it all are Mr. Qaddafi's theories, laid out in a Green Book — reminiscent of Mao Zedong's Red Book — that foresee a new stage in history not only for Libya and the Arab countries but for the entire world.

"Libyans realize that the fate of their revolution depends on finding the road through which the masses on every continent can overthrow capitalism once and for all," a propaganda tract distributed here says. "Muammar Qaddafi's Green Book," it goes on, "is the highest product of that struggle."

It may seem peculiar that a country with a population of 2.5 million could see itself as the vanguard of world revolution. Diplomats here believe that a majority of Libyans do not concern themselves with such things. But among sizable numbers of young people, Colonel Qaddafi's vision has caught on. They seem to believe the official view that Libya, which they regard as the world's most advanced revolutionary country, is the natural target of imperial counterattack. Youthful groups have, moreover, been given considerable power to form supervisory "revolutionary committees" in virtually every institution of society. It was such a committee that took over Libya's embassy in London several months ago. Diplomats say that these groups have also played an important role in dealing with Colonel Qaddafi's opponents, including Libyans living abroad. "The hit squads that have been active in years past in England, West Germany, Italy, Greece," a Western diplomat said, "this is Libya exporting its problems to other countries and solving them in its own way."

It was not President Reagan's way. He sent four bills to Congress designed to combat terrorism, which he called "a growing threat to our way of life." Secretary of State George P. Shultz recently named Libya, Iran, Syria and North Korea among countries resorting to terrorism.

With a small population and large oil revenues, Libya can afford foreign involvements, and it is this combination of wealth and activism that has made Mr. Qaddafi a world figure. But diplomats point to recent frustrations as exacerbating Libyan radicalism. Oil revenues are down almost to half what they were four years ago. The country's involvement in Chad, where an estimated 5,000 Libyan troops are based, has proved costly and, according to some foreign assessments here, unpopular. And Colonel Qaddafi's gain in notoriety does not appear to have been accompanied by an increase in influence.

"When one talks of solving the problems of Lebanon, for example, one doesn't talk about Qaddafi," a Western specialist on Libya said. "When there's an incident like this one in London, he attracts attention, but in the major matters of international affairs, he counts for nothing."



Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi

Gamma-Liaison/Daniel Sloman

## Sizing Up the Campaign

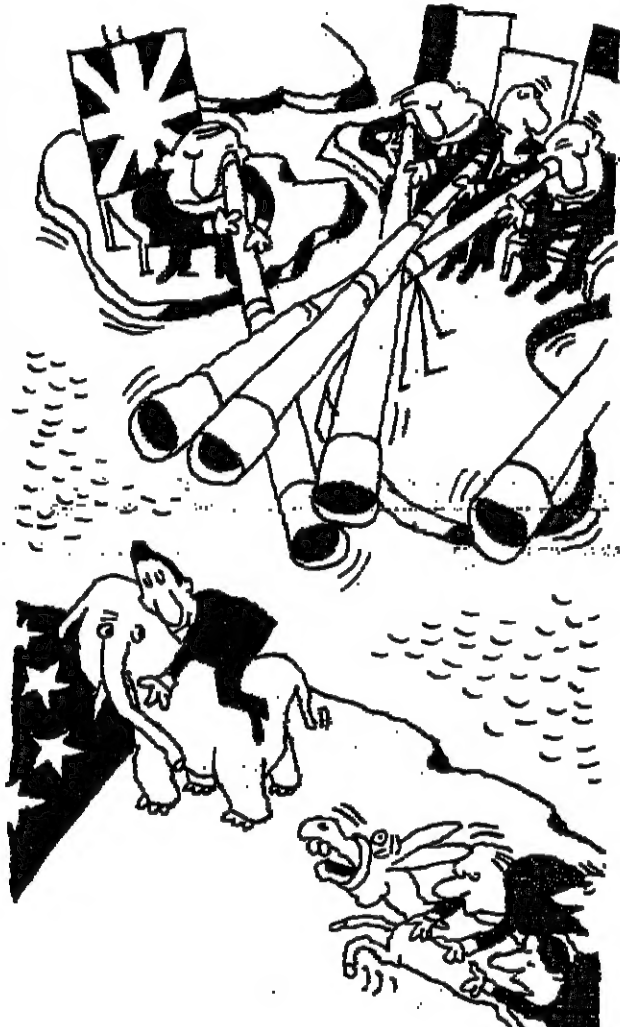
## Europe Takes Sides, and Swipes, in the U.S. Election

By R.W. APPLE JR.

LONDON — For the first few months of the year, the European press had a love affair with Senator Gary Hart of Colorado. Except for some important French newspapers, President Reagan is unpopular with commentators in Europe; in London and Bonn, Rome and Madrid, the picture often drawn of him does not vary a great deal from the cartoon that Krokodil, the Soviet satirical journal, ran not long ago, showing a Presidential cowboy exuberantly astride a nuclear bomb. Mr. Hart's early primary victories, and his strong showing in trial-heat polls against the President, were therefore taken as a sign of hope by many here.

But as Mr. Hart's drive has faded, the Europeans have been quick to write off, or at least to discount, his chances and his importance as a political phenomenon. Writing from New York, Geoffrey Smith, a columnist for *The Times* of London, said that Mr. Mondale "inspires more confidence" on Central America and other issues. Not everyone has given up on Mr. Hart, though. The leader of the British Liberal party, David Steel, who spent a week with him on the campaign trail, commented that even if Mr. Mondale beat him for the nomination this time, "Gary Hart must still be reckoned as the next likely President of the United States — in 1988."

At the moment, the man who most fascinates the Europeans, to judge by the press and radio and television, is the Rev. Jesse Jackson. Der Spiegel, the big German weekly, suggested after the New York primary that Mr. Jackson was the real winner there, and that the black contender could ultimately decide the outcome in



Nicolas Ascu

November: "If Mondale does not make a compromise with Jackson, Jackson won't mobilize his six million followers to vote, thus guaranteeing the re-election of Reagan." In other countries, his successes have been seen as a rebuff to what is viewed by many in Europe as widespread American racism.

A lot of Western Europeans still appear to be searching for their ideal candidate. The French press, for the most part, seems to think that the President is likely to win, and there is little inclination to view that as a disaster. But elsewhere, Mr. Reagan is widely accused of having increased East-West tensions. Few, however, have been as critical as the well-known publisher Marion Donohoe, who recently took a full page of her paper, *Die Zeit*, to list what she considered the President's failures: corruption, insensitivity to women, Latin-American policy and treatment of minorities, and more.

"If I'm honest," a middle-of-the-road Dutch politician told a friend recently, "I'd have to say that most Europeans haven't really respected an American President since Nixon — and we respected him only in a limited way, for his intelligence and his knowledge of foreign affairs, not for his leadership or his ethics."

"We all thought Carter had to be better than Ford and Reagan better than Carter, but we turned out to be wrong," the Dutchman added.

Interest in this year's campaign appears to be running high judging by the press coverage, which is fuller and more sophisticated than in 1976 or 1980. For example, *Liberation*, a highly successful left-of-center daily in Paris, explained the complicated system of primaries and caucuses with exemplary clarity, something many European newspapers gave up on during the last two American election years. But the paper was critical of the lavish expenditure of money.

Perhaps the sharpest attack has been mounted by David Watt, the director of the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London. Mr. Watt writes a weekly column in *The Times*, which is considered one of the most thoughtful in British journalism, and his piece for March 16 was headed: "What a way to pick a president." Reflecting gloomily on the Hart phenomenon, he attacked the American system as preoccupied with images at the expense of ideas and asserted that the United States desperately needed "a better educated and more discriminating public opinion."

As for the Russians, they seem unsure of the outcome. Georgi A. Arbatov and other Soviet experts on American affairs have been saying since 1983 that Mr. Reagan was the worst President in the 50 years of relations between the Kremlin and the White House. But in March, Aleksandr Bovin, in a commentary in *Izvestia*, conceded that Mr. Reagan had strong personal appeal, "ostentatious self-confidence and unquenchable optimism" going for him. Both Mr. Hart and Mr. Mondale have been accorded good treatment, by the standards of the Russian press. The former Vice President is being praised for his experience and his moderation and Mr. Hart for calling for better American-Soviet relations. Both are praised for supporting a nuclear freeze.



# The Nation

## Heavy Going On Reagan's Deficit Plan

The Senate's debate on a White House-approved deficit reduction package began again last week with protestations from members of both parties that the plan doesn't go far enough. The debate didn't go very far either. With the number of amendments climbing hourly — Thursday morning there were 18, Thursday noon, 28 and on last public count there were 48 — and the Senators vying to have their versions presented last, as the real option, the action was mostly quorum calls.

All in all, finishing up the three-year, \$144 billion plan is expected to take several weeks (\$82 billion in tax increases and some domestic spending cuts were approved before the Senate went home for Easter recess). And in the end, the view of Senate majority leader Howard H. Baker Jr. could prevail. The Reagan plan, he said, while not perfect, is probably "the best we can get." The Tennessee Republican was referring to the lengthy negotiations earlier this year between the Senate leadership and the White House that produced President Reagan's reluctant agreement on slowing the growth of military spending to 8.3 percent from the 13 percent he originally wanted for 1985. Also still to be worked over is a freeze on discretionary domestic programs next year (growth only enough to match inflation would be permitted after that).

## 'Star Wars' Plan Takes a New Hit

The Administration's proposal for "Star Wars" missile-defense system, estimated to cost at least \$25 billion, hit another barrage of skepticism last week. A study prepared for the Congressional Office of Technology Assessment said that the odds of developing a successful space-based defense system were "so remote that it should not serve as the basis of public expectation or national policy."

## Mixed Economic News

Senate action and compromise with the House, which has already approved its own \$182 billion plan, would cut cumulative deficits projected to come to more than \$600 billion by 1987 by roughly one-quarter. Anxiety about a deficit-driven interest-rate crunch has been depressing the stock market. So has worry about inflationary pressures in the economy's continuing boom. There was another month's reassurance on that score in last week's consumer price report. The index rose a fractional two-tenths of 1 percent in March, putting the increase for the last 12 months at 4.7 percent.

But a report on the United States' trade deficit yielded less cheerful news. For the third consecutive month, the import/export imbalance set a new record; March's was \$10.3 billion, and if the year's pace continues, the 1984 trade deficit will exceed \$100 billion. Last year it was \$89.4 billion, a record in itself.

Citing growth in exports despite the strong dollar, which makes imports cheaper and American goods more expensive, the Administration predicted improvement by year's end. Private analysts were doubtful.

## Socal Is Set To Swallow Gulf

The proposition that bigger is better is the subject of endless argument. But the fact that Big Oil gets bigger when it can seems indisputable. Last week the Federal Trade Commission topped itself, giving all but final approval to the biggest merger ever: a \$13.2 billion takeover of the Gulf Corporation by the Standard Oil Company of California. Socal, best known by its brand name, Chevron, moves into a tie with Mobil as the second largest company in the country (the Exxon Corporation is No. 1). The fourth is Texaco Inc.; its \$10.1 billion acquisition of the Getty Oil Company, approved by the F.T.C. in January, was the most recent record merger.

The sole dissenter in the 4-to-1 vote was Michael Pertschuk, the commis-

sion chairman during the Carter Administration. He called the commission's Social decree an improvement over the Texaco-Getty arrangement — which he also voted against — because to meet antitrust objections the commission is requiring that Socal keep its Gulf assets separate until the divestiture is done.

The F.T.C. can also insist that more properties be spun off if the present package isn't attractive enough to buyers. Still, Mr. Pertschuk said, Socal may well retain Gulf's better assets — its estimated 1.9 billion barrels of domestic crude oil reserves and 5.7 billion trillion cubic feet of natural gas while parceling out less profitable properties, such as its refinery, pipeline interests and Southeastern wholesale and retail marketing outlets.

Some Congressmen unsuccessfully promoted a curb on such mergers earlier this year. They are concerned that such mergers absorb enormous amounts of credit and lead debt-burdened surviving companies to reduce their budgets for finding new oil. Still ahead is the Mobil Corporation's pending \$7.4 billion bid for the Superior Oil Company. That could push Socal into third position.

## 'Star Wars' Plan Takes a New Hit

The Administration's proposal for "Star Wars" missile-defense system, estimated to cost at least \$25 billion, hit another barrage of skepticism last week. A study prepared for the Congressional Office of Technology Assessment said that the odds of developing a successful space-based defense system were "so remote that it should not serve as the basis of public expectation or national policy."

The study, drafted by Ashton B. Carter, a research fellow at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology's Center for International Studies, also said that the creation of such a system would violate a 1972 treaty with the Soviet Union that outlaws antimissile missiles.

Former Vice President Walter F. Mondale, campaigning for the Democratic nomination for President, last week picked up the issue, calling for a freeze on the military uses of space. "In less than 200 days," Mr. Mondale said, "if Reagan is re-elected, the arms race on earth will be extended to the skies." Administration spokesmen, for their part, were targeted on Capitol Hill. Lieut. Gen. James A. Abrahamson, who early in the month became as director of the "Star Wars" program, told the Senate Armed Services Committee that it should ignore claims that "an effective defense against ballistic missiles is technologically unattainable, too expensive and would only lead to another round of the arms race."

But in testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, George A. Keyworth 2d, President Reagan's science adviser, conceded that a system of directed-energy weapons such as lasers in an orbiting network needs technological breakthroughs that may be decades away. Mr. Keyworth also argued for a delay in space-weapons talks with Moscow so the United States would not be hampered by a "patchwork of treaty obligations." Congress last year asked the Administration for a report on the feasibility of antisatellite arms control; the report, delivered last month, concluded that a ban on specific antisatellite weapons might be possible to verify, but that Administration experts have yet to figure out how.

Caroline Rand Herron,  
Michael Wright  
and Carlyle C. Douglas

## Jackson's Candidacy Brings Out Economic and Political Divisions

# The Myth of the Monolithic Black Vote

By PAUL DELANEY

Ever since light-skinned and free blacks held themselves different from those with dark skin and those still in slavery, blacks have disagreed over how to fight slavery, segregation and discrimination. The disagreements have not abated, and they may never. The candidacy of the Rev. Jesse Jackson for President demonstrates the gains that have been made. It also has put the disagreements in sharper focus.

Earlier in this century, perhaps the most notable conflict was over whether the best course for black improvement was through emphasizing manual training and de-emphasizing social intercourse with whites, as Booker T. Washington urged, or through book-learning to develop the leadership cadre — the "talented tenth" — needed by the race, as W.E.B. DuBois advocated.

Today's debate may be less lively than those fiery discussions. But it is no less important in a community that is still working on means and methodology. "We are no longer, if we ever were, monolithic," said M. Carl Holman, president of the National Urban Coalition. "There are changes going on in goals, strategies and deep concern that blacks have that even white liberals miss because they don't perceive of blacks as capable of moving to another level."

Indeed, much of the time, as Mr. Holman suggests, the actions of whites have been the determining factor in the attitudes of blacks toward blacks, from the white master who decided which slaves would be beneficiaries of better treatment to the white real estate agent who helped perpetuate segregated housing. As John Oliver Killens wrote in "Black Man's Burden" in 1965: "Thus an aristocracy of color was established which in many instances still persists. The more you resembled the folks in the Big House the better off you were."

"Uncle Tom" was a well-used accusation, applied to the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., such leaders of civil rights organizations as Roy Wilkins, Whitney Young, Vernon Jordan, and, yes, Jesse Jackson. The disagreements, arguments really, were over whether black groups should accept white money; whether whites should be allowed to join civil rights organizations; whether blacks should participate in electoral politics, should join the Republican Party or the Nixon, Ford or Reagan Administrations, should support black capitalism or the Reagan "enterprise zone" proposal for tax credits to new businesses in decaying areas, or continue to favor direct Federal aid; whether a black should run for President.

When a Jackson candidacy first began to be talked about, there were blacks who felt — and those who still feel — that he would divide the Democrats and divert attention from getting President Reagan out of the White House. Those who refused to endorse him included Mayors Tom Bradley of Los Angeles, Wilson Goode of Philadelphia and Coleman Young of Detroit; Mrs. Coretta Scott King; Georgia State Senator Julian Bond; and Representatives Charles B. Rangel of Manhattan and Parren Mitchell of Maryland. Many of the refusers are supporters of

former Vice President Walter F. Mondale. During the civil rights movement, James Forman was one of the most militant leaders of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, who shouted his share of epithets at leaders he considered too conservative. Today, he complains about the verbal abuse he and other black Mondale supporters are subjected to from Jackson partisans.

## A Separate Party?

The Jackson candidacy has also provoked a new dispute over forming a black political party if demands for changes in Democratic Party rules that he considers hobbling to minority candidates are not met. But as Paul King, a black business leader, put it recently: "We have too much of a stake in the two-party system." And many blacks who delight in the incendiary rhetoric of Louis Farrakhan, the Black Muslim minister, scoff at his call for a separate black state, a long-time Muslim position.

Mr. King, head of a minority contractors association in Chicago, said the "dilemma of black achievement" was especially poignant this year. "I voted for Jesse Jackson because I was not

going to let the opportunity to pull the lever for President for a black escape me," he said.

"At the same time, I am concerned. There's the question of who's going to negotiate the black bargaining chip, to decide what for whom," Mr. King added. "There are no well-defined power centers in the black community. By white definition, we've got black special interest groups. Over 60 percent of black babies are born out of wedlock in Chicago; we can say there is an interest group called unwed mothers. Black churches remain power centers. And we black businessmen are concerned with interest rates, but also with the demise of affirmative action that helps black business. But there are no true voices, say, from black lawyers or black doctors."

Most black leaders recognize the diversity of the black community. But the idea of a monolithic bloc can be used to advantage when white leaders act out of concern or fear or merely the belief that a bloc is to be reckoned with. But, Mr. Holman said, "blacks appear to be monolithic" only because they don't get a range of choices on issues that concern them. "In the future," he said, "anybody who wants the black vote will have to recognize that diversity."

## Mississippi Senate Candidates Court Black Voters

Former Mississippi Gov. William Winter, below, is challenging incumbent Thad Cochran, right, for his Senate seat.



The New York Times/John Sotomayor

# Who Has Done More for A State That Has Little?

By MARTIN TOLCHIN

GRENADA, Miss. — Senator Thad Cochran stood in shirt sleeves in the drizzly night air at a catfish fry he was giving at the high school football field in this farming community. He shook hands with each of the 1,200 people there, and interrupted a bluegrass band to say why he was running for a second term. "Through me, the people of this state have made an investment in seniority and experience," Mr. Cochran told the interracial group. "I invite comparison between my record and ability to get things done for Mississippi and someone who has had his entire experience in the state. My opponent was selected by Washington power brokers who are trying to get up a candidate to unseat an incumbent."

Ronald Reagan's name never crossed the

Senator's lips, nor did the word Republican. This is a traditionally Democratic state, though Mr. Reagan carried it in 1980 and Republicans hold two of its five seats in the House. A former Congressman from Jackson, Senator Cochran is a Republican too, and a conservative, and the first member of the party to have been elected to the Senate from Mississippi since Reconstruction.

His opponent is former Gov. William Winter, a scholarly, bespectacled, moderate Democrat who under state law cannot run for a second consecutive term. He left the State House in December and early this year yielded to the persuasion of the Senate Democratic Campaign Committee and turned down the post he said he coveted, Chancellor of the University of Mississippi, to run against Mr. Cochran. Senate Democrats, who need a half-dozen seats to recapture the Senate and consider Mr. Winter and Mississippi one

of a handful of likely prospects, were jubilant.

But while Mr. Cochran has been crisscrossing the state putting in feverish 18-hour days, Mr. Winter's pace has been languid, leading to questions about whether he really wants to move to Washington. "I don't have to spend a lot of time explaining myself to the people of Mississippi," Mr. Winter said. "They know me."

Still, Mr. Winter is eager to accept the Senator's challenge to let the voters decide who has done more for Mississippi. This seems a curious debate for the poorest state in the nation, with the highest infant mortality rate and 10 percent unemployment. But Mr. Winter cites his overhaul of state education (paid for by the state's largest tax increase ever), and gently chastises Mr. Cochran for supporting Mr. Reagan's social spending cuts, which he says have cost the state \$400 million to \$500 million in local programs.

## The Reagan Factor

The President's impact is considered one of the imponderables in the race between the Senator and the former Governor, each of whom is assured his party's nomination in the June 5 primary. Another unknown is the role of the state's 900,000 blacks, who make up one-third of the population and of whom fewer than half are now registered. Partly as a result of the Rev. Jesse Jackson's candidacy for President, black registration has increased by more than 33 percent this year. But it remains to be seen whether his appeal will be transferable, and Mr. Cochran and Mr. Winter both believe black votes will be decisive in their contest.

Mr. Cochran won in 1978 with 45 percent of the vote to his Democratic opponent's 32 percent. Charles Evers, the civil rights leader and former Mayor of Fayette, a black majority hamlet, took 23 percent of the vote. But no independent candidate for the seat is in sight this year, and both Mr. Cochran, who had black support in his two successful races for re-election to his old House seat, and Mr. Winter, who won a reputation for moderation as Lieutenant Governor and Governor, are wooing black voters. Mr. Cochran, asked to identify his greatest Senate achievements, cited an amendment to an appropriation bill that provided \$35 million to minority-run colleges, and to his successful opposition to the President's effort to convert some housing programs into block grants for the states. Mr. Cochran also was responsible for expanding the Republican state committee to include six blacks. Mr. Winter noted that his education bill provided kindergartens for the first time in the state's history. His insistence on compulsory attendance, teacher certification and statewide student testing is regarded by many as an effort to help blacks, as well as to attract industry to this rural state.

Some of the blacks at Mr. Cochran's catfish fry, like George Morgan, who works for the Farmers Home Administration, said they were "just shopping." But the Rev. R. L. Williams, minister of Calvary Baptist Church in Yazoo City, said the Senator "knows the needs of the people." Odell Tucker, who runs a truck stop in nearby Greenwood, summed up the view of some of the crowd. "Nobody can understand Mississippi politics," he said.

## Verbatim: Scolding the High Court

Justice John Paul Stevens, objecting to the Supreme Court's ruling, without oral arguments or full briefing, in favor of the state of Florida in a criminal appeal:

"This case and cases like it pose disturbing questions.

Each such case, considered individually, may be regarded as a welcome step forward in the never-ending war against crime. Such decisions are certain to receive widespread approbation, particularly by members of society who have been victimized by lawless conduct. But we must not forget that a central purpose of our written Constitution, and more specifically of its unique creation of a life-tenured Federal judiciary, was to ensure that certain rights are firmly secured against possible oppression by the Federal or state governments.

Yet the Court's recent history indicates that, at least with respect to its summary dispositions, it has been primarily concerned with vindicating the will of the majority and less interested in its role as a protector of the individual's constitutional rights.

The Court must be ever mindful of its primary role as the protector of the citizen and not the warden or the prosecutor. The framers surely feared the latter more than the former."



# Beirut Economy Still Squeaks By

But the violence is crippling business in ways that may prove to be fatal.

By THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

BEIRUT, LEBANON — These days has no up-to-date economic indicators to tell businessmen which way the economy is going, no fancy government graphs that will outline the latest trends in consumer confidence.

The best way to find out how the Lebanese economy is doing and what both consumers and producers are expecting is to talk to the people who sell window glass.

Window glass has become Lebanon's all-purpose economic indicator. When Beirutis feel confident the fighting is over and are primed to spend and invest again, they go out and replace all of their blown-out windows. When they expect only more clashes and are retrenching, they simply tape up their cracked window panes or fill their empty window frames with plastic wrap better suited for sandwiches.

So what do the Lebanese glass merchants say about the economy today?

"It's zero, nothing, finished, below zero," stammered Riad Hija, one of the biggest window sellers in Beirut. "We have not sold a window in weeks. In fact, do you really want to know how bad it is? It is so bad that all of the windows in my own apartment are shot out and I am not even replacing the glass. It's true. It is the fourth

*'We are not able to take stock now of how bad things really are because we are still bleeding. Right now all we want to do is stop the bleeding.'*

— A Lebanese banker

time my windows have been broken and this time we just put up plastic nylon instead. We're getting rockets every day. How can I put up glass anymore?"

When the glassmakers aren't repairing their own windows then the economy is in trouble — and the Lebanese economy is in big trouble. The level of violence here has been so extreme and sustained that even the resilient and ever-imaginative Lebanese merchants and bankers are finding it increasingly impossible to eke out a profit between cease-fires.

"We are witnessing the destruction of the bases of economic activity in Lebanon," commented Elias Saba, a former finance minister and chairman of the Allied Business Bank. "We are not able to take stock now of how bad things really are because we are still bleeding. Right now all we want to do is stop the bleeding."

Practically every one of the unique attributes that enabled the Lebanese economy to flourish since the 1975-76 civil war, despite the frequent bouts of fighting, has disappeared.

The so-called "political money" — millions of dollars a month that used to flood into Beirut to pay the salaries

of the Palestine Liberation Organization guerrillas — has dried up since the departure of the P.L.O. and was never replaced by more productive inflows of capital, such as tourism.

Remittances from Lebanese working abroad — which always played a key role in getting the Lebanese economy through periods of instability — have plummeted in the last year to roughly \$75 million a month, about half the usual level. Central bank sources cite the recessions in the Persian Gulf and West Africa, and eight months of almost non-stop fighting in Lebanon, as the main reasons for the mounting reluctance of Lebanese to send their money home.

The construction industry, one of the traditional mainstays of the Lebanese economy, is at a virtual standstill because no investors are ready to risk putting up a building at a time when various militiamen are still so actively blowing them down. Lebanon's main industrial zone at Chweifat, just south of Beirut, has been ravaged by successive spasms of violence to the point where almost all 102 of its factories have been closed, thus depriving some 14,000 Lebanese of their jobs and the country of 30 percent of its industrial production.

Moreover, the country's division into religious cantons and zones of foreign occupation — which has taken place during the last 22 months — has broken Lebanon's once-thriving economy into fragmented, disconnected little markets, cut Lebanon off from its Arab hinterland and transformed Beirut from the "Gateway to the Orient" into a dead end.

Finally, the real secret to the resilience of the Lebanese economy since the civil war has been the ability of the Lebanese individual to believe that the next cease-fire, the next reconciliation conference, the next foreign intervention was going to be the one to deliver lasting peace. So many people were ready to stay and keep plugging away — no matter how bad things got — because they had hope. But hope is now dying and that more than anything else is deflating the Lebanese economy.

"We are too exhausted to be energetic and creative anymore," said Marwan Iskandar, a well-known Lebanese economic consultant who has finally decided to move his office permanently out of Beirut to Paris. "I was 37 when the civil war started and now I am 46. I am tired of running hard only to find that I am falling back. I don't have the energy to waste anymore."

"Doing business today in Lebanon has become the art of hanging on. Everyone is spending and investing as little as he can and it is this paltry activity that keeps the economy running. It is almost impossible to find a businessman — save for the people who sell bullets and Kalachnikov automatic weapons — who will say business is 'O.K.' Many businesses have already quietly slipped under the waves never to reappear, with their owners emigrating abroad.

Those who remain are trying any way they can to keep their head above water and cover their overhead, hoping that the security situation will stabilize soon and business will bounce back.

In the meantime, companies like Middle East Airlines, which has not flown since Feb. 6, are hanging on by persuading their employees to accept half pay, while dress shops, jewelers and shoe stores along Beirut's Hamra shopping street maintain permanent "Bargain Sale" signs in their windows in hopes of luring the now tight-fisted Lebanese into spending whatever cash they have available.

Mr. Hija, the window maker, is typical of the small-business men struggling to keep their doors open. "I used to have four employees,"



A bombed-out bank in Beirut.

he says, leaning on one of the idle Italian-made glass-cutting machines in his little factory. "Now I have two. One is sleeping downstairs every night because we only have electricity from 6 P.M. to midnight. So if we have some business he comes at 6 P.M., works until midnight and then sleeps on the work table."

Like so many of his colleagues, Mr. Hija cannot reach any of his traditional markets. The road route to Tripoli is frequently closed because of fighting on the crossing points between East and West Beirut, the road to Sidon is cut by the Israelis and alternative routes to the South can take days. The Beirut-Damascus highway is only safe if one is riding in a tank or armored personnel carrier.

"When I wake up in the morning I don't feel like getting out of bed," explained Mr. Hija. "I sit. I drink coffee. I argue with my employees. I watch them standing all day with their arms folded. I drink more coffee. I go home. On Saturday, if there is some money in the drawer, I pay them. If not, we go to the bank. If it stays like

this another month I am closing my doors."

"If it stays like this another . . ." is the most common refrain among Beirut businessmen today.

Amine Halwany is the general manager of Goodies Supermarket, one of Beirut's most fashionable food stores, caterers and food distributors. The closure of both Beirut airport and Beirut port has prevented him from bringing in many of the gourmet fish, fruits, cheeses and other exotics that his store and his bourgeois Beirut clientele once thrived on.

"I have two tons of chocolate sitting in Geneva," he moans, ticking off his troubles. "I have 20 tons of dates sitting down in a container in Beirut port that no one can get at. I have two containers of filets in Junieh port that I am trying to get across the greenline and I have 8,000 boxes of pears stuck in Chweifat."

To get his foodstuffs into Beirut he has to pay hefty premiums to the drivers taking the risks and to the various militias "Robin Hoods" along the routes who impose their "taxes." There is no other choice.

# The Economy

"I am really trapped here," said Mr. Halwany. "We thought after the marines came everything was going to be O.K. so we made a lot of investments in our business. Now the marines are gone and things are back to zero. What am I supposed to do? Leave everything and go to America? I won't do that. If I break even now with everything, it will be good. The truth is I am losing. But the important thing is that we are still doing business. Others are completely closed — or dead."

That feeling of not being able to afford to leave and not being able to afford to stay is widespread in Beirut these days and has produced a curious phenomenon: the "bachelorization" of Lebanese society.

Levon Berberian, owner of the biggest travel agency in West Beirut, says he is selling more and more tickets to businessmen who are sending their wives and children out of the country, while they stay in Beirut protecting their apartments from squatters and keeping the family business running until a buyer can be found or conditions improve.

"People are trapped here by their assets," observed Mr. Berberian.

In the old days, no matter how bad things got, the jewel of the Lebanese economy — its banking sector — always managed to thrive. Now even the banks are hurting.

"When banks stop honoring their clients for overdue loans, then you know things are bad," said Mr. Saba of Allied Business Bank. "Bankers don't want to hear from their clients today. They don't want to open the Pandora's box. They are afraid just one big client will tell them 'Go to Hell, foreclose me, take the whole thing. . . Better to carry them on the books indefinitely.'"

Given the paucity of sound lending opportunities in Lebanon today, bankers are increasingly finding that the only way to survive as a Lebanese bank is to become something other than a Lebanese bank.

"We are trying to count less and less on Lebanon," said Naaman Azhari, chairman of one of Lebanon's largest banking houses, the Banque du Liban et D'Orient-Mer. "I think it is the only strategy."

In 1974, when the Lebanese civil war started, Mr. Azhari's bank had offices in Lebanon and one other country; it now has nine branches in Europe, the Persian Gulf and Africa, where it can attract capital and find investment opportunities from Lebanese emigrants and other Arab sources.

Inside Lebanon, Mr. Azhari has greatly reduced his lending activities. Of the roughly 5 billion Lebanese pounds now on deposit with his bank, he has 3.8 billion pounds invested in Government T-bills earning an effective rate of 13.64 percent per annum, roughly 2 percent above his cost of money.

T-bills, a very new phenomenon for Lebanon, are proving to be a godsend to its bankers. Before 1975, Lebanon had no national debt to speak of. But arms purchases by the Government in the last 18 months have helped produce a national debt of 22 billion Lebanese pounds (\$4 billion).

"Thanks to this debt the Government has had to issue T-Bills," said Mr. Azhari. "Without the T-Bills to invest in, we would have had to either make more loans at much greater risk or let the money sit earning very little interest. With the T-Bills we can at least continue taking in deposits, cover our overhead and survive until things get better."

Unfortunately, not all of Lebanon's 90 banks have demonstrated the pru-

dence of Banque D'Orient-Mer. Last month, the Lebanese central bank demonstrated once again its refusal to let any bank go under at this time, by quickly stepping in to avert what could have been a major financial crisis, not to mention possible scandal, surrounding the new First Phoenician Bank.

According to banking sources, First Phoenician lost somewhere between 100 and 300 million Lebanese pounds (\$15.2 million to \$46.6 million) in the last 12 months — something of a record even among Lebanon's cowboy bankers. No one knows the total figure for sure yet because the bank's tangled finances are still being sorted out, but most of the losses are said to be a result of catastrophic foreign currency speculation by the bank — using some of its excess liquidity — and by some of its biggest clients.

In mid-February, the central bank got wind of the problem. It moved in and appointed an "adviser" to sort out the bank's affairs and at the same time extended it a "very big loan," according to one central bank source, so that it could continue to honor all of its obligations.

Despite rare cases like First Phoenician, Lebanon's banking sector, while slumping, still has a good deal of underlying strength. Thanks to the absolute convertibility of the Lebanese pound and the confidence the Arab world still has that property or bank assets in Lebanon will never be nationalized, the country is still attractive to Arab investors. With roughly 9.2 million ounces of gold, and about \$3 billion of foreign currency reserves, the Lebanese Government may be disorganized, but it is by no means broke.

"Despite everything, I still have people calling me from around the Arab world about investment opportunities in Lebanon the minute things settle down a bit," said Mr. Azhari. "People know that while you may fear for your life here, you never have to fear for your money."

If the Lebanese economy continues in its present decline, argued Andre Chaib, the director of research at the central bank, it will gradually lose all of its "excitement" and settle down into a new low-income equilibrium, much like the stagnant, pre-boom Lebanese economy of the early 1950's.

"People will just have to adjust their standards of living," said Mr. Chaib. "There is a limit to how much destruction you can absorb and still maintain a bourgeois life style. Those who can't adjust will leave. Even if some miracle takes place and things settle down, it will be a long while before the economy recovers from the destruction to its infrastructure and its loss of human resources — we are not talking about just months or quarters."

Still, there are some reasons for hope, noted Mr. Chaib. The central bank continues to function, despite everything, under the leadership of its widely respected Governor, Michel Khoury. In fact, Lebanon's central bank is probably the only properly functioning government institution left in the country. It would not be an exaggeration to say that Lebanon today is a country ruled by a central bank and a cease-fire committee — and held together by the thread of a common currency. No matter where you go in Lebanon, whichever local or foreign power is in charge, the Lebanese pound is always accepted with confidence.

"All we have left in common is a currency," remarked Mr. Chaib. "It is what is holding this country together."

## WEEK IN BUSINESS

# A Moderate Rise In Consumer Prices

Food and fuel prices dropped in March, easing the Consumer Price Index rise to 0.2 percent, the smallest increase since December. The annual rate of inflation is expected to remain in the 4½ to 5-percent range. The news was welcomed by economists, who had feared that the first quarter's unexpectedly high 8.3 percent rate of growth in the gross national product would signal the higher prices that accompanied too-fast recoveries of the past. A secondary index of consumer prices, to which Social Security increases and some cost-of-living increases are tied, did not move at all during March. Some analysts noted, however, that there could be problems if large labor unions react to record earnings and increase their wage demands. That could drive wages — and ultimately prices as well — back to inflationary levels.

The merchandise trade deficit was a record \$10.3 billion in March, and most analysts see 1984 as the worst year ever for U.S. trade. They blame a combination of a strong dollar and a slower economic recovery abroad.

The stock market showed signs of life with a rally that started slowly, and grew as institutional investors grew more complacent about interest rates. Despite a Friday loss, the Dow Jones Industrial average ended the week at 1,169.07, up 10.89. Interest

rates, meanwhile, rose some, with much of the increase coming with Thursday's announcement of a \$500 million drop in the basic money supply. Some investors worried that demand for credit would soon outstrip supply, driving interest rates up.

Auto Profits Rev Up. General Motors reported a record \$1.61 billion profit in the first quarter, more than double the previous quarter. The year promises to be the biggest ever for the auto industry, with total profits of \$10 billion possible for the four major domestic auto makers. Ford earned a record \$897.2 million in the quarter, more than four times the previous quarter's results. American Motors reversed its loss of a year ago and made a profit of \$3.1 million. One analyst said the industry was benefiting from a new emphasis by American buyers on "\$12,000 rear-wheel-drive cars with power seatbelts."

More Earnings News. U.S. Steel earned \$171 million in the first quarter, only its second profit since the second quarter of 1982. And Bethlehem Steel narrowed its loss, to \$54.6 million. Du Pont's net income soared 83.7 percent. A lower loss at Montgomery Ward helped its parent, Mohl, show a 32 percent profit improvement. Exxon posted a 30.6 percent increase. Standard Oil (Ohio) increased its net 37.5 percent.

But Texaco posted just a 0.6 percent increase. United Airline's parent earned a record \$25.6 million in the quarter, helped by higher fares. Xerox profits dipped 2 percent.

The Common Market will charge International Business Machines with unfairly using its dominant market position in Europe to stifle competition. Competitors complained that I.B.M.'s marketing practices kept them from designing peripheral equipment.

A.G. Becker Paribas may be fully acquired by Paribas, which already owns more than half of the investment firm. A takeover by the French bank could end both Becker's problems of capital shortages and many of the personnel problems the firm has suffered in recent years.

A marriage between Gulf and Standard of California received the Federal Trade Commission's conditional blessing. In order for the \$13.2 billion merger to go through, the F.T.C. said, Socal must divest itself of some properties, and must operate some of them independently until they are sold. The unusual "hold separate" condition was seen as an indication of the caution with which Federal officials will view future mega-mergers in the oil industry.

Nippon Kokan will buy half of Na-

tional Steel for \$292 million, giving the Japanese a further foothold in a market that has tried to limit Japanese competition. Similar ventures into markets restricted to the Japanese include the G.M.-Toyota agreement to build small cars in California. The Nippon Kokan move also was seen by some as a harbinger of Japanese entry into such U.S. markets as machine tools and computers.

The Seabrook Shuffie. Saying the lead partner "walked away" from the Seabrook nuclear power plant in New Hampshire, the other partners moved to cover the maintenance costs that mount as a result of the shutdown of construction at the site. Public Service of New Hampshire, the lead partner, relinquished the veto power it held over the other partners on Unit 1, but kept its veto power on Unit 2. The other utilities said they would seek ways of financing completion of Unit 1.

Howard Hughes Medical Institute got eight new board members by order of a Delaware court, ending six years of battle for control of the Hughes Aircraft Company. Hughes Medical is the sole shareholder in Hughes Aircraft, and now must decide what to do with the giant aerospace company. Most think part or all of the company will be sold off.

Merrill Periman

## The New York Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE STOCKS WEEK ENDED APRIL 27, 1984 (Consolidated)				Standard & Poor's			
Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng	400 Indust	182.5	177.4	181.5 +2.53
20 Transp	136.4	133.3	135.3	-0.01			
40 Util	85.5	84.2	84.9	+0.51			
40 Financial	17.0	16.7	16.8	-0.16			
500 Stocks	160.6	156.6	159.9	-1.87			

Dow Jones			
Industrial	1182.0	1144.3	1169.0 +10.89
20 Transp	505.0	491.3	497.7 - 3.08
15 Util	126.8	124.3	125.3 - 1.30
65 Comb	458.4	446.2	453.9 + 1.17

The American Stock Exchange			
MOST ACTIVE STOCKS WEEK ENDED APRIL 27, 1984 (Consolidated)			
Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng

DomeP	1,448,900	3	+
WangB	1,215,300	28%	+ 1%
MtchIE	1,027,800	23%	+ 2%
Delmed	955,100	9%	- 1%
AegisCo	806,800	5%	+
TIE	868,000	17%	- 3%
GfCd	882,300	14%	+ 1
Granger	824,600	22%	+ 1%
PrmHe	588,800	51%	+ 3%
HouOTI	558,100	8	+

MARKET DIARY			
Advances	1,056	1,037	
Declines	917	890	
Total Issues	2,221	2,213	
New Highs	75	45	
New Lows	255	176	

VOLUME (A.P.M. New York Close)	Last Week	Year To Date
Total Sales	430,185,150	7,648,603,285
Same Per. 1983	505,731,731	7,167,719,890

WEEK'S MARKET AVERAGES			
	High	Low	Last Change
Indust	106.8	106.9	108.4 +1.57
Transp	83.7	82.5	83.4 -0.04
Util	44.1	43.6	44.0 +0.13
Finance	88.3	87.1	88.0 -0.30
Composite	92.2	90.1	91.9 +1.06

	High	Low	Last	Net Change	New High	24	19
					New Low	90	60
<hr/>							
New York Stock Exchange							
<hr/>							
Indust .....	108.6	105.9	108.4	+1.57	VOLUME	Last	Year

WEEK'S MARKET AVERAGES			
	High	Low	Last Change
Indust	106.8	106.9	108.4 +1.57
Transp	83.7	82.5	83.4 -0.04
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# The New York Times

Founded in 1851

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## Resisting Terror — and Lawlessness

The Reagan Administration has been hinting at a new kind of quasi-legal warfare. The target: terrorists. The objective: to deter or kill them before they kill Americans, and to punish nations that support them. Would this new warfare be waged at home as well as abroad? Darkly, officials imply they may cross all kinds of boundaries.

The urge, born after the truck-bomb murder of marines in Lebanon, is understandable. It has produced a dubious proposal for new laws to prosecute Americans who give aid to terror groups — as blacklisted, unchallengeably, by the State Department. But the deeper yearning seems to be for even more secret operations so far undefined by any public policy. The subject cries out for discussion, in terms of concrete, if hypothetical, cases.

President Reagan has signed a secret directive authorizing unspecified actions. Officials say it marks a shift from defensive to offensive measures by "all legal means available." But Secretary of State Shultz has been campaigning for measures that require crossing what he calls a "threshold," raising questions "of retaliation, of pre-emption, of standards of proof." And Undersecretary Lawrence Eagleburger notes that ideas like pre-emption raise "all sorts of legal and ideological problems."

It's hard to know what to make of these abstract hints. Presumably, the F.B.I. can already protect adequately against, say, fanatical Puerto Rican nationalists. Diplomacy and defensive measures have surely contained dangers like airplane hijackings. Presumably also, the Administration is not torturing the language to redefine its war against Nicaragua as "counterterrorism." What then justifies crossing thresholds of law and morality?

When Iranians terrorized American diplomats, we seized their assets, might have detained their diplomats and sent a military rescue party. None of that crosses such thresholds.

When Libyan agents pursue their enemies

abroad, they can certainly be barred and followed or arrested and expelled on less than perfect proof. If they're supported by an embassy, as in London, it can be closed. No thresholds there.

What if Shiite Lebanese drive a bomb truck into an American compound? If the conspirators are known, we can demand their punishment by their Government or hold it culpable. If they're not known, however, we certainly should not retaliate, Israeli-style, by bombing Shiite villages. That would indeed cross a threshold, and recklessly so. Americans may be insecure in some ill-governed regions, but American society does not live, like Israel's, in perpetual danger of terrorists. Retaliation, like war, can be just or unjust.

What if Iran or Syria conspire in terror attacks on Americans? Then they would be guilty of aggression, punishable by all the conventional means a prudent nation uses to respond to attack. But if they are merely suspected of complicity, there's not much to be done. Global order won't be advanced by outlaw tactics.

And what if terrorists get arms from Czechoslovakia or advisers from Bulgaria?

Then those nations, as the Administration has recently warned, risk American wrath and sanctions. But the line between arming terrorists and insurgents is a slender one. The United States itself is far from willing to forgo the right to send arms and advisers into other peoples' conflicts.

So what, precisely, does the Administration plan? State-supported terrorism is a relatively new concern and may require energetic new intelligence operations. Terrorist groups are best deterred, and frustrated, by infiltration.

Yet when intelligence fails or yields only suspicion, the United States cannot just shoot on a hunch or at random. Even if provoked, it depends too much on the norms of international conduct to invent new violations of them. That may mean that some guilty parties sometimes go unpunished. But that is the price civilized societies always pay to ward off the greater terror of anarchy.

## Mr. Mondale UnPACs

Even as Walter Mondale abolished the 127 supposedly independent committees formed to support his convention delegates, the candidate protested that the entire operation had been legal, proper and beyond his control. The action, though belated and taken only after pressure from rival Gary Hart, was welcome. The evasiveness was not.

The delegate committees have been conduits for political action committee money, chiefly from organized labor. They may indeed be wholly legal, though the Federal Election Commission has yet to say so. But was the operation proper? Certainly not when measured against Mr. Mondale's righteous rejection of campaign contributions from special-interest PACs.

And beyond his control? Election Commission files show a pattern of direction from the central Mondale campaign, including the shift of funds and personnel between committees and headquarters and coordination to defray the national campaign's expenses in key states. Much to his credit, Mr. Mondale saw Mr. Hart's point and decided to give back the questionable money.

Such forthrightness did not mark the start of this enterprise. Mondale headquarters reminded

delegate committee chairmen in January that the candidate was not accepting PAC money, but also advised each committee that it was free to make its own decision about which contributions to accept.

When the Hart forces began to challenge the arrangement, Mr. Mondale reaffirmed his personal opposition but said he couldn't control those committees. That remained his posture until the evidence of coordination began to pour in from commission filings. Score one for the disclosure provisions of the Federal election law.

To be realistic, the committee arrangement was a desperation move. Mr. Hart's stunning victory in New Hampshire left the Mondale campaign reeling and its financial plan in shreds. Having "front-loaded" so much of its spending, how could it now meet the suddenly urgent demands of the next primaries?

The need for survival explains but does not excuse, as Mr. Mondale now seems to recognize. Mr. Hart may grumble that his opponent is giving the money back only when he no longer needs it, but there's no denying the wisdom of the move. It's just about all anyone could ask of a candidate who made a serious mistake.

## Topics

### Setting an Example

#### The Non-Candidate

Like many Americans, we found much to applaud in John Anderson's run for President in 1980. The rock-solid moderate Republican from Rockford, Ill., spoke painful truths plainly, notably about the economy, energy dependence and election law reform. He won considerable support, especially from the Doonesbury Set, the young urban intelligentsia who have lately become known as Yuppies.

After surprising success in the primaries, he did well enough in the general election to qualify for \$6 million in Federal funds for 1984 for his National Unity Party. Nipples, perhaps.

This time around, what we'd like to applaud is Mr. Anderson's decision, announced last week, not to run, even though all that Federal money is available to him. The appeal of a candidate and a cause should create the need for money. It's perverse when the availability of money stimulates a candidacy.

Mr. Anderson's decision not only confirms his decency and practicality. By putting political motivation right side up, it also establishes a precedent the country may one day be very glad to remember.

#### Actors Underground

There is the man who plays the sax and the one who juggles oranges and the one who can bounce a basketball from his wrists to his nose to the top of his head — and all without using his

hands. But our votes for best subway performers go to the man and woman who were riding a Seventh Avenue local one morning last week.

The woman was reading a script. Her mouth was moving, so were her forehead (wrinkling), eyebrows (rising and falling) and nose (also wrinkling). But she wasn't making a sound, which means her fascinated audience didn't know what she was saying. Whatever the play was, it seemed to take a lot of acting.

The man, who was opposite her, was engrossed in the score of "The Boys from Syracuse." And he was, as any halfway decent lip reader could plainly see, singing a robust "I want to go back . . . go back . . . go back to dear old Syracuse." He, too, wasn't making a sound, but for at least one passenger the air was filled with the sound of music. When she got to her stop she was also mouthing "I want to go back . . . go back . . ." and feeling, she says, like she'd just left the theater.

#### Pipe Dream

With each new vehicle sold, General Motors will now provide a free life insurance policy worth \$10,000 to the estate of anyone killed while wearing a GM seat belt. It's an imaginative, if modest, gesture. Indeed, its biggest impact might be as an example for other companies whose products bear on public health and safety. The tobacco industry, for instance. Cigarette manufacturers regularly derogue medical evidence against

smoking. If they really think it is such exaggeration, they could follow GM's example and put their insurance money where their filters are: \$10,000 to the estate of any smoker of their brand who dies of lung cancer.

It's a nice fantasy, but it won't happen. The premiums for smoker insurance would be out of sight. There are, thus, two morals here, both familiar: Buckling up saves lives. Lighting up doesn't.

#### Country Life

Helen Riddick, a 79-year-old widow who lives in Brooklyn, says the high point of her year is her two weeks at summer camp. "When you look around," she says, "you know that there is a God in heaven, it's so wonderful to be there."

Mrs. Riddick is one of the 9,000 New Yorkers over 55 who get two weeks in the country every summer, thanks to Vasca — Vacations and Senior Centers Association. Vasca has 18 affiliated camps in New York, New Jersey and Connecticut: activities range from athletics to crafts to discussion groups to an occasional excursion to a historic spot like Old Mystic Seaport.

Vasca's fees are low, and campers pay on a sliding scale according to what they can afford. But some elderly people can't afford to pay anything at all, which is why Vasca provides "scholarships" for those who need them. Donations for the scholarships are tax-deductible, and can be sent to Vasca, 225 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y. 10003.

## Letters

### U.S. Technology for China: Too Much Too Soon?

To the Editor: President Reagan's trip to China provides an excellent opportunity for U.S. policy makers to stand back and assess where the Sino-U.S. relationship is headed. In spite of some rocky moments over the last several years, the U.S. and China have developed a plethora of economic, scientific and cultural ties, perhaps best personified by the almost 11,000 Chinese students and scholars in the United States.

The U.S. is on record as supporting a stable and modernizing China and has adjusted its policies regarding export controls to help facilitate the flow of advanced civilian and even military technologies to the People's Republic. The continued normalization and strengthening of relations is conducive to stability in East Asia and the world at large.

Still, one may rightly ask whether the Reagan Administration is moving too far too fast. In trying to maintain the momentum of the three previous administrations, and anxious "not to lose China" once again, it has not stopped to take a serious look at how far the often-claimed commonality of interests really extends. In our exuberance at the emergence of a more pragmatic leadership in China, we have tended to ignore much of the substance and dynamics of the modernization program we now support.

The issue of U.S. technology transfer policy vis-à-vis China best exemplifies our failure to come to grips with the reality of China's goals and intentions.

Not only has U.S. policy in this critical area been way ahead of our political relations, it has also proceeded in almost total neglect of Peking's pro-

nouncements regarding military modernization. Whether we realize it or not, China has not strayed from its commitment to drastically upgrade the quality of its military forces, particularly strategic weapons, which, in March of 1983, Defense Minister Zhang Aiping affirmed had first priority.

In spite of often-cited claims regarding the subordination of military to civilian development goals, the Western world must realize that much of the advanced technology flowing into China will be used to strengthen its overall scientific and technological base in areas that may not necessarily accord with American interests. And, as has been shown in recent press reports and Congressional testimony, where U.S. policies will not allow technology to flow through commercial channels because of obvious national security

concerns, there is reason to believe that the Chinese will resort to illegal or clandestine methods to obtain what they need for their defense programs.

China's Minister of Electronics Industry has on at least a half-dozen occasions noted that "advanced electronics to serve the military" is his chief priority, followed by integrated circuit and computer development. Given the vast overlap between civilian and military research and industrial production in China, and its almost unconditional refusal to accept so-called "extraterritoriality" provisions on the use of imported technology, it is likely, if not to be expected, that the advanced technology making its way into China will be diverted to non-approved defense uses.

Even taking into account that prevailing U.S. export controls preclude the sale of technology that would make a demonstrable contribution to the "six special mission areas" — nuclear weapons, nuclear delivery systems, anti-submarine warfare, electronic warfare, intelligence-gathering systems and power projection capabilities — it must be recognized that it is almost impossible to prevent unauthorized use once technology crosses China's border.

All of this raises rather serious questions: Has this Administration fully assessed the risks associated with the new policies on technology transfer to China? Are these policies fully consistent with the Sino-U.S. relationship in political terms?

It is also possible that those who have argued that the recent liberalization of export controls would quench China's growing thirst for high technology have underestimated the extent to which additional military and political imperatives inside China might force the Chinese to once again push up against the high-end limits of the present regulations.

One can only hope that his visit will encourage the President and his staff to come away with more from Peking in terms of commitment and support on various bilateral and international issues to justify the present level of U.S. trust symbolized by our position on technology transfer.

Mr. Reagan should re-emphasize our overriding commitment to support China's economic modernization. Toward this end, we should willingly expand our level of selected commercial, scientific and educational exchanges with China.

However, in return for our "open door" on technology, we must insist on more from China. Our exaggerated concerns about the fragility of the relationship have tended to make us accept less while we give more.

The best way to build a lasting and viable Sino-U.S. relationship is to abide by the principles of "mutual benefit and respect" that the Chinese themselves insist must form the crux of any relationship with another nation-state.

DENIS FRED SIMON  
Cambridge, Mass., April 23, 1984  
The writer, assistant professor of management at M.I.T., worked on Sino-U.S. technology issues as a research analyst with the U.S. Government.

### The Trouble With 'Open-Secret' Wars

To the Editor: William Safire's repeat discourse on waging "open-secret" wars (columns April 13 and 23) proves, if little else, how convinced he is of having discovered a great new idea. The proposition as it stands seems to be that we might avoid the dire consequences of actually going to war in Central America, and elsewhere, if we systematically evade our rules for distinguishing clearly between war and peace.

Waging war under the guise of peace hardly seems to be a new or very good idea. That it's a great new idea is ludicrous.

There is no doubt that in the present circumstances we could do it, evade our traditional distinctions between war and peace and carry on war, fighting at an initially lesser intensity than otherwise. It's what we are doing. Apart from direct success or failure, or even the point of doing such a thing, the practical problem is that we would become unable to say what distinguishes war from peace.

That's not such a good idea in any circumstance. In an unstable world with nuclear weapons increasingly at risk, perhaps even in the C.I.A.'s off-shore arsenal, erasing the distinction between war and peace would be of truly demonic significance.

Mr. Safire also berates the alternatives to our Central American war strategy as "pull-the-plug diplomacy" and the people who wish to maintain a clear difference between war and peace as "tidyists." There are more accurate ways to characterize the opposition's policies and attitudes.

The difference I see is that opponents of the Administration generally favor supporting the just aims of Central Americans, by just means, as a way of discrediting injustice and rendering it ineffective.

The Administration's concentration on using unjust means to oppose injustice has the reverse effect, even if it is done in the name of the same good. It justifies injustice, both for us and for the death squads and revolutionaries. It stimulates repression and retaliation by all sides. It directly interferes with the work of just causes while draining credit, support and attention from them. It's not only vile, it simply does not work.

Tidy up the difference between war and peace? Pull the plug on indiscriminate acts of vengeance? Seek out just causes to compete for our support, and go make friends? Yes.

PHILIP F. HENSHAW  
Brooklyn, April 23, 1984

### Premature Warning On Sodium in Food

To the Editor: The Food and Drug Administration regulation to require labeling of the sodium content of certain foods (Week in Review, April 22) may prove to be an embarrassment to government and to science.

While it has long been clear that salt (sodium chloride) can produce hypertension, recent evidence suggests that the chloride is at least as responsible as the sodium [Science 223:1430 (1984)]. It may turn out that other sodium-containing additives (e.g., monosodium glutamate) contribute little to hypertension. Since the requirement to label foods by sodium, but not chloride, content takes sides in a yet unresolved issue, the rule should be delayed. A premature bet on the wrong chemical element could affect the credibility of product labeling for a long time.

MICHAEL SEGAL, M.D.  
St. Louis, April 22, 1984

### Hephaestus' Blunder

To the Editor: Your April 16 editorial "Hephaestus Folly in Space" says that Hephaestus' cunning net backfired when the victim snared in it threw the technologist from heaven. You have the mythology wrong.

There are two myths about the lame-ness of the net's artificer. One, related in the first book of the "Iliad," has Zeus hurling Hephaestus from Olympus because he sided with his mother, Hera, in a quarrel. In the other, his mother hurls him from the mountain because he is born lame and ugly.

The myth about which you are confused is from the "Odyssey." The fire god traps his wife, Aphrodite, and her lover, Ares, in a net and calls on the other gods to come and see. Ares does not throw Hephaestus from Olympus; he is fined for his crime and leaves humiliated. Hephaestus' plan backfires only in that he has revealed himself as a cuckold.

MICHAEL MILLER  
Watertown, Mass., April 17, 1984  
The Times welcomes letters from readers. Letters for publication must include the writer's name, address and telephone number. Because of the large volume of mail received, we regret that we are unable to acknowledge or to return unpublished letters.

### When a Firm Bent on Merger Sizes Up a Target

To the Editor: Frederick Thayer's view of the American merger market is correct in that mergers can be effective remedies for overcapacity ("Re-thinking Mergers," Op-Ed April 10). His thesis is marred, however, by misperceptions of how mergers are planned and concluded.

No doubt exists that excesses and abuses occur in the merger arena (e.g., Bendix-Martin Marietta), but Professor Thayer's memory may give too much weight to the most readily available examples.

The definition of "undervalued" companies as ones whose "tangible assets are worth more than their stock" is correct for companies in liquidation. But because most target firms are acquired as going concerns, the preferable valuation method is discounted cash flow; this is indeed the common practice. Projections of future cash flows will take into account the excess capacity that Professor Thayer

says acquiring firms will ignore. Given the widespread use of this method, it is difficult to believe that acquirers will consistently pay too much for target firms in the context of efficient and competitive markets for capital and managerial talent. Dodd and Ruback's well-known 1977 paper on this subject provides empirical proof of Professor Thayer's error.

One more thought: Instead of taxing away retained earnings, why not merely require that larger dividends be paid? If retention of earnings is undesirable, then the earnings should be distributed to the people whose savings produced those earnings.

And, if excess capacity is indeed rampant in American industry, those distributed earnings may well find their best return in the U.S. Government securities which finance the public works projects that both Professor Thayer and I find desirable.

CHRISTOPHER E. FLYNN  
New York, April 13, 1984

### A Nobel-Class Writer

To the Editor: The celebration of Eudora Welty's 75th birthday provokes me to suggest that, of all living imaginative writers in the world today, she is the most suitable to be recognized by a Nobel Prize.

She is a most distinguished writer, who has created a whole world of the imagination, as authentic as William Faulkner's, or Thomas Hardy's Wessex. Several second-rank writers have been so honored, when others who were first-rate have been missed. Here and now is an opportunity to be seized for a writer whom other writers recognize as of the first rank.

A. L. ROWSE  
Lynchburg, Va., April 20, 1984

### Shortcut to Shakespeare

To the Editor: News of Shakespeare having been translated into modern English ["Shakespeare's Language Is Updated," news article April 23] makes me happy. Now I will be able to read "The Tempest" without a dictionary.

But why are those great theater people against the translation? Don't they perform the works of Sophocles, Molière, Racine, Chekhov, Schiller, Brecht in modern English? So why not Shakespeare too?

PAUL MOCSANYI  
New York, April 23, 1984  
The writer is director of the New School's Collectors Institute.

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WASHINGTON — In 1945, Winston Churchill was more than a British hero; he was the personification of the free world. Yet politically this counted for much less than Churchill — and virtually everyone else — assumed.

In the midst of the Potsdam conference, while he was plotting the future of the globe with Harry S. Truman and Josef Stalin, Churchill was suddenly and unceremoniously deposed in a British general election that he was supposed to win handily.

The news came like a thunderclap; but after the reverberations faded, the results seemed almost foreordained. And the reasons why a British Prime Minister lost that long ago election suggest that the same unexpected fate could befall an American President nearly 40 years later.

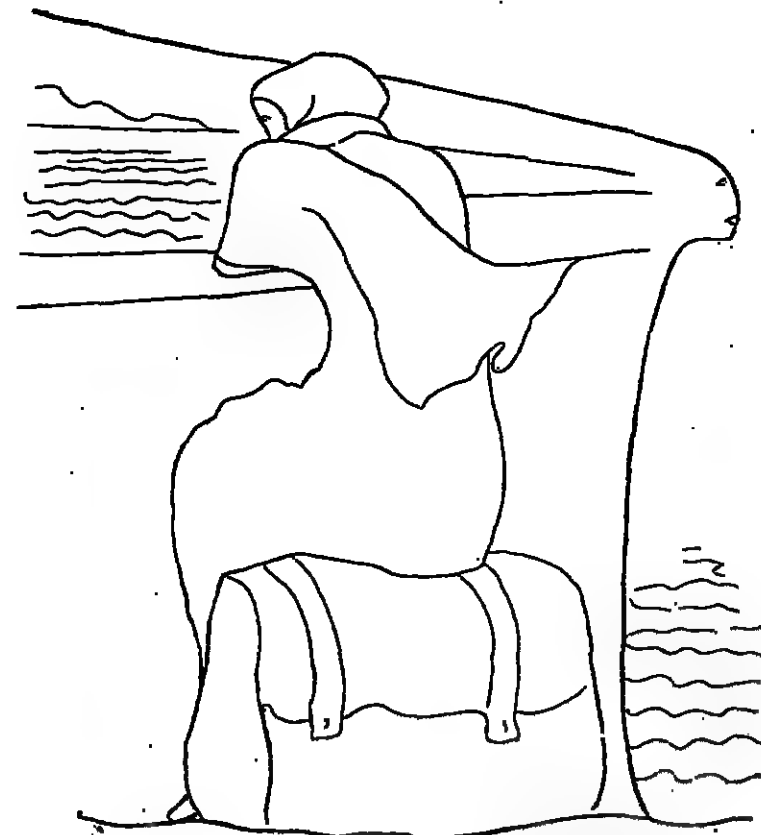
Churchill, like Ronald Reagan, was certainly personally popular; indeed, the Prime Minister was universally regarded as the savior of the nation. Churchill was a dominant presence. By contrast, the leader of the opposition, Clement Attlee, seemed so drab that Churchill once described him as "a sheep in sheep's clothing." More eloquently and more powerfully than Mr. Reagan, Churchill was the great communicator, the man who had mobilized the English language and sent it into battle. Mr. Attlee's voice was high-pitched and staccato; he was a poor speaker, in marked contrast to each of the three Democratic candidates for President in 1984.

In short, Churchill had more of Mr. Reagan's strengths and fewer of his weaknesses. Although he was the oldest Prime Minister of the century, he was two years younger in 1945 than Mr. Reagan is today. No one questioned what Churchill had achieved or the importance of it. His war policy was not at issue in an election that followed the German surrender by only a matter of months. No one suspected that he was a part-time leader, not fully in command or not quite up to

Pamela C. Harriman is chairman of Democrats for the 80's. She lived at 10 Downing Street in World War II as the daughter-in-law of Winston Churchill.

## Churchill and Reagan

By Pamela C. Harriman



"The Past" by Romulus Brooks, National Museum of American Art, Washington

the job intellectually. So what happened? Churchill, who saw the election as a judgment on his past success, lost power to Mr. Attlee because he lost control of the political dialogue. Instead of voting for Churchill's leadership, his character, or his record, the British acknowledged these factors and then all but ignored them. They responded to the issue of housing starts at home, not zones of occupation. Mr. Attlee spoke of social justice, not international arrangements; he pledged a Britain "with

cake for none until all had bread." The election was about the future, not the past — and the candidate who had been pre-eminently first in war was not seen as the right man to be first in peace.

This did not mean that Churchill had lost his place in the hearts of his countrymen. Rather, with rough democratic dispatch, they decided that he had finished the job he had been selected to do. As for the future, his vision was not theirs. As Churchill went, so could Mr.

Reagan in 1984. The signs of the similarity between the two political situations are interesting and impressive. While the President's personal popularity is high, his Gallup ratings are markedly lower when the question concerns the job he is doing in specific areas — the economy, his policies in Lebanon and Central America, the overall conduct of foreign policy. He offers no programs for the American future beyond the continuation of his present course.

Many who voted for him in 1980 may very well decide that he, like Churchill, has completed the task and can be retired — that he is no longer a man for the times. Indeed, Mr. Reagan was elected when Americans worried that our national defense was weak. Now, they wonder if we are spending too much, moving too fast into another round of the nuclear arms race and edging too near the brink of war in Central America.

Ronald Reagan was elected to cut the waste in Government; now people are thinking again about fairness, compassion and the poor. The realization is setting in that the Reagan tax cut must be modified to reduce the Reagan deficit. Social issues — abortion, school prayer, censorship — mobilized new voting blocs for the new right in 1980; this year, the gender gap and civil rights are likely to do as much or more for the Democrats.

The causes closest to Mr. Reagan's heart have become yesterday's concerns. If Americans look to the future, if they treat 1984 as a chance for change instead of a referendum on the past four years, even those who like this President, even those who approve of what he has done, may vote their hopes for what the Democrats will do. Obviously the opposition must at least echo this mood, and this year's Democratic candidates can surely do so far more skillfully than Mr. Attlee did in 1945. If the Democratic nominee does it with any effectiveness at all, Ronald Reagan could be popular, genial, likable — and defeated.

While President Truman, Churchill and Stalin were negotiating at Potsdam in the days before the British election, a number of us were visiting British Army encampments in Germany. We shared confidence in a Churchill victory, but we were also feeling — and, I must confess, discomfited — a persistent undercurrent among the soldiers. "Old Winkle was great for the war, but we want something different," they were saying to each other and writing home to England. It was a signal of the upset to come. I thought of it again as I watched the President on a recent visit to an auto factory; he was smiling and the workers were applauding. Many of them were also wearing Mondale hats. I wondered how many of them were saying to themselves: "I like old Ronnie, but I want something different."

## 2 Views On Oil

By Daniel Yergin

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — The billions of dollars that are changing hands as a result of the oil industry's "merger mania" have stirred a considerable debate about the ill and non-ills of the acquisitions. But the debate has missed the puzzle that is central to the entire takeover process — the gap between how the stock market values oil companies and how the players in the takeover struggles do.

Why does Wall Street think a company like Gulf is worth \$38 a share, while Standard of California is willing to pay \$30 a share — for a total of \$13.2 billion? The answer to the puzzle tells us what we might expect of the energy future.

The main reason for the difference is time horizons. Wall Street is, at the most, looking ahead only a couple of years, and what it sees is a substantial energy surplus. The shortages of the 1970's have been turned upside down and have become the surpluses of the 1980's. Higher prices, conservation, recession, technological advance — all have worked together to call forth energy supplies considerably in excess of what the market now requires.

The surplus is most visible in oil. The Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries today is producing less than 17 million barrels a day compared with 31 million barrels a day in 1979. The surplus is so great

Daniel Yergin, president of Cambridge Energy Research Associates, is writing a book on the changing structure of the international oil industry.

that even the heating up of the Iran-Iraq war barely has had an impact on oil prices — strikingly different from what happened when the Shah fell in 1979. We have a good deal more energy security today than we did in the 1970's.

Surplus dominates other energy supplies as well — natural gas, coal, electricity. One reason for the cancellation of nuclear power plants is that the demand for electricity that was anticipated when the plants were ordered has not materialized.

In such circumstances, the reserves of Gulf and the other oil companies are hardly worth the premium — especially with continuing discussion of possible further falls in oil prices in this market.

Yet take a longer perspective, say 10 to 15 years, and the picture looks quite different — more like the 1970's again. For by the 1990's, the surplus may well have eroded, putting pressure once again on supplies, with all the economic and political consequences that might follow.

In the late 1970's, there was much exuberance in the United States about the possibility of stabilizing or even increasing United States oil reserves. But results of the great drilling boom

of 1978 to 1982 are now in, and they have generally been quite disappointing, creating an increasing pessimism about the longer-term United States reserve base.

This pessimism deserves to be called the "Mukluk syndrome," after a drilling site off the coast of Alaska. Great hopes and big dollars — \$1.7 billion — were invested in the Mukluk site, but late last year it proved to be the most expensive dry hole in history and has come to symbolize the mounting disappointment.

In contrast to the confidence of five years ago, the general view today, based on accumulated experience, is that it is now going to be very difficult and expensive to add significant new reserves and to prevent further declines.

In the 1980's, oil production in both the United States and the North Sea — two of the most politically secure areas — is likely to be in decline. That means that the industrial world will, even with further conservation, become relatively more dependent again on insecure sources of oil.

We will not have the cushion against turbulence that we currently have. And that means that those companies that are positioning themselves for the 1990's are willing to pay a pretty premium for United States oil reserves, which are likely to be much more prized a decade from now than they are today.

The differing expectations of Wall Street and the oil companies make sense within their respective time frames, but as long as that gap in perceptions exists the drive toward mergers will continue.

## FOREIGN AFFAIRS

### The Issue Is Competence

By Flora Lewis

PARIS, April 28 — Whatever else the primaries have shown, they have been a depressing rerun of old issues. If that is a foretaste of the general campaign, the election won't do its job of informing and challenging the public to focus on America's needs.

An American abroad wrote to the International Herald Tribune in disgust, calling on the politicians to stop posturing and start talking about how to face the changes coming in the world. "Tap America's enormous reserves of men and women tired of being stuck in the mud and eager for a go at the future," he said.

That is good advice. The problem isn't lack of ideas, old or new. It is a question of competence. In 1980, the election revolved on twin fears, the fear of war and the fear of weakness. Ronald Reagan looked tough, and the voters liked that. Since then, he has talked tough, but what are the results?

In April 1983, President Reagan said, "If we don't stop the left in Salvador, we cannot expect to prevail elsewhere. Our credibility would collapse, our alliances would crumble, and the safety of our homeland would be put at jeopardy."

What did he mean by "prevail elsewhere"? The U.S. is certainly prevailing in Honduras, where there are some 3,000 U.S. troops building a military infrastructure to support guerrillas fighting against Nicaragua. Senator Alan Cranston, a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, says "Honduras is being converted into a permanent U.S. garrison state."

But the left is still going strong in El Salvador, and Nicaragua is tightening its resistance. Far from stabilizing and pacifying Central America, the combatants have spread war.

The week before pulling U.S. Marines out of Lebanon, Mr. Reagan said withdrawal would bring "a pretty disastrous result for our world."

wide." When he did order them out, it was announced as a "redeployment" a few miles to the west, on warships that were supposed to continue providing support for President Amin Gemayel. Now the ships have gone, too, and Mr. Gemayel is negotiating with Syria's President Hafez al-Assad, something he always knew he'd have to do eventually even though Mr. Reagan denounced Syria as the enemy.

Relations with the Russians are at a nadir. Mr. Reagan said he needed MX missiles to give them an "incentive" to negotiate. But when he finally professed eagerness, Moscow broke off talks. Now he offers a treaty banning chemical weapons with such intrusive verification demands that the Russians don't take it seriously. He has refused Soviet proposals to negotiate a ban on antisatellite weapons, for which essential tests are easily verifiable.

What arguments are the Democratic candidates making in response? Senator Gary Hart has sensible things to say about the defense budget, challenging not the need for a strong defense but bad practice and bad judgment in using the money available so that effectiveness of defense is undermined.

But he has been foolish about the purpose of America's force, listing all

the places he says he would never send troops, whatever happens, a decision that would be an invitation to adversaries. Europeans consider him dangerously isolationist.

Walter Mondale sounds as if he's still fighting against the war in Vietnam and not seeking ways to find solutions in current trouble spots so as not to wander into a new war.

In domestic affairs, the argument seems to turn on whether or not to dismantle the old New Deal and bash trading partners who have succeeded too well in being competitive. This is not the way to revitalize industry and create jobs.

The economy is doing well now. The problem is to keep it on a steady keel, educate the young to the new skills that are required as industry is transformed, and ease the transition for those who are inevitably displaced.

Deregulation has been successful in some areas, unsatisfactory in others like the telephone system. The experience shows that neither the idea of regulating practically everything nor the idea of removing all regulations is a useful answer. What works is to look at practical needs and make the best possible attempt to foresee the consequences, not relying on the dogmas of either liberalism or conservatism.

The exercise of government goes askew when theories are more important than facts and getting work done. The task of the executive branch is just what its name suggests: making decisions and seeing that they are executed.

An argument about the ability to do that, to be firm without being belligerent, to be both candid about the state of the nation at home and abroad and to be patriotic in its goals would give the voters a sense of positive choice. Otherwise, 1984 risks being another election where there is only a choice between shadowy fears.

## WASHINGTON

### America on the Move

By James Reston

PHOENIX, April 28 — If occasionally you feel a little down these days, the thing to do is to take a trip across America.

The way to go for reassurance is on the big jet planes, the flying carpets of illusion. At 30,000 feet, everything is different. At 500 miles an hour, everything seems slow, and you can't see the slums or tell a Republican from a Democrat.

But you see something else. You see the majesty, power and promise of this vast continental nation, with its rugged mountains and growing cities and endless fertile plains.

And you have time to think that this is really an empire of different peoples, climates and problems, and maybe even to feel a little sympathy for the Presidential candidates who pretend they can bring it all together.

When you come down to earth, the illusion is not entirely destroyed, for even in a week's journey, it's obvious that there's a revival of energy and spirit in the land.

The economic recovery is no longer merely in the statistics, it's in the air. From Phoenix to Boston, everything is on the move. Where it's all going, nobody knows, but clearly it's on its way.

You see this sense of hurry, of everything being on ball bearings, especially in the big city airports with their organized disorder. Somebody said they were divided, like Gaul, into three parts — a parking lot for planes, a parking lot for cars and a parking lot for people waiting for their planes and looking for their cars.

Maybe so. The U.S. airline industry hasn't had very good notices in the news lately, but if it isn't the best air transportation system in the world, I don't know what is.

At every stop across the continent, there seem to be new planes of all sizes, many of them with new deregulated company names you never heard of before. No big airport is ever finished: It is the symbol of change in America, spreading out and forcing the people to develop physical fitness.

It's wonderful, waiting for a plane, to look around, despite the noise and confusion. For an airport is a human stage, of arrivals and departures, and somehow manages to provide for children and the frailty of old folks.

I stopped off in Chicago for a day. Some things are about the same. The politicians and the newspapers are fighting, maybe a little rougher than usual, but it is the same windy, gutsy, energetic place, some parts of it dying, some parts along the lake front soaring. Finally they even have a

pretty good baseball team in the White Sox.

As we were told these last few years, the American steel industry is tottering down to disaster, like the auto industry in Detroit. But the other day Inland Steel announced plans to build a \$250 million continuous cold rolling mill, and to work with Japan's Nippon Steel to cut production of high quality finished steel from the usual 12 days to 1. Just like Lee Iacocca in Detroit.

The farther west you go from Washington, D.C., the more the natural weather and the political weather change. In Washington, politics is not merely an occupation but an addiction, but beyond the Mississippi, at this time of the year, the sun comes out and everybody seems more optimistic.

Here in Phoenix, they talk about real estate and knocking down the hills for more highways to accommodate more people.

The hotels are crowded with conventions of business folk planning for the future, discussing how to promote new young managers, and if I heard right, most of these business people are for President Reagan, who is doing neither.

Arizona is Reagan country. The more you go west, the more Republicans you find. There is no longer a Democratic "solid South," but there seems to be a Republican "solid West."

In The Arizona Republic, J. J. Caserio observed the other day that President Reagan's command of the electoral votes in the West was very likely to be decisive in the November election.

"The West," he said, "is divided into either 13 or 19 states, depending on one's geographic or political viewpoint."

"If the nation were split by a line running down from the eastern boundary of Montana to the eastern edge of New Mexico, 13 states rise to the west. They control 111 electoral votes out of 270 needed to win the Presidency. The lead is almost insurmountable. The G.O.P. knows that, and the Democrats are appalled by it."

How has this come to be? The explanation probably is that there has been a vast movement of people from the Middle West and the other snow states to the Sun Belt, and this has made a fundamental switch in the balance of political power.

Whether this is true or not we will have to wait and see. But what is most obvious in a trip across the country is that the atmosphere of the West politically is wholly different, and this is probably the new face of Democracy.

## When neighborhoods come back, business comes back.



It's a fact of life in today's Brooklyn, Queens and Staten Island—Brooklyn Union's New York.

Business is coming back. And it's due to the remarkable turnaround which has taken place in neighborhoods throughout the three boroughs.

On May 17, at the Brooklyn Academy of Music, an event will be held which celebrates the turnaround and highlights the reasons for it.

The event is the second annual Cinderella and Neighborhood Preservationist Awards Competition sponsored by Brooklyn Union Gas.

Neighborhoods throughout Brooklyn, Queens and Staten Island have entered. But in this competition, there are no losers. Because the accomplishments achieved by thousands of dedicated people in these communities make everybody a winner.

The impossible made possible. There is a Cinderella story which began in the mid-1960's, when there seemed to be no alternative to creeping urban blight.

Out of this crisis a program to reverse the crippling tide of deterioration was born. It was conceived by Brooklyn Union and neighborhood leaders as a partnership between the private sector and the community working together to stimulate revitalization. Naturally, it was called Cinderella.

One block can break a neighborhood. Or make it.

It began on Berkeley Place in the historic Park Slope section of Brooklyn. There, Brooklyn Union purchased and restored

an abandoned brownstone house.

The Cinderella house was showcased to dramatize the opportunities for good living created by Brooklyn's large stock of 19th Century Victorian townhouses.

Cinderella took root on Berkeley Place. In the ensuing months the entire block of homes was purchased and restored by people from all walks of life who stabilized the neighborhood and who became leaders in the preservationist movement.

Neighborhood improvement is more contagious than deterioration.

Within a few years, Cinderella blossomed into a full-blown urban renewal with paint brush and hammer rather than bulldozer and red tape. And it grew from brownstone restorations to conversions of abandoned factories, lofts and stores into co-ops and apartments, not only in Brooklyn, but in Queens and Staten Island too.

As a company with a huge investment in the city, we believe our future and the future of our community and our city depend upon economically strong and stable neighborhoods.

That's why Cinderella will continue to be a part of our commitment to the people we serve. And why the annual Cinderella Awards will continue as a salute to the thousands of people in our part of the city who are building a brighter future for themselves and for us all.

To learn how the spirit of Cinderella can benefit your neighborhood or your business, call Mike Teatun, Director of Cinderella Projects and Area Development at (212) 403-3370.

Brooklyn Union Gas







# SELLING THE PARTIES

By MACABEE DEAN / Jerusalem Post Reporter

THE OBJECTIVE in every election is to capture the floating vote. Persuading this nebulous group to switch camps - or to remain faithful to past ways - requires a campaign planned with the thoroughness of a general staff, preparing a military operation.

Public opinion polls are used to build a profile of the floating voter - what he wants, what he fears, what he needs. Advertising agencies are mobilized both to present our political message in the most endearing terms and to reveal flaws in the opposition's message. And a candidate's charisma is a factor since many people attach more importance to a man's ability to carry out a policy than to his political views. Character assassination is used both brutally and subtly.

After speaking with two pollsters, Dr. Sara Shemer, of Modi'in Ezrahi, and Rafael Gill, of PORI (Public Opinion Research of Israel), and with two advertising men, Uri Aylon of Aylon Advertising (who worked for the Alignment in the last elections) and Arie Ruttenberg, of Keshet Barai (who worked for the Likud then), this reporter gleaned opinions that were common to all, or nearly all of them, but what follows should not be attributed to anyone mentioned unless quoted by name.

It is a mistake to think that there is only one election race, for within each party leaders juggle for position, and there are internal fights within each bloc. For example, Mapam would like to strengthen its position within the Alignment at the expense of the left wing of the Labour Party which itself includes former members of Abud Ha'avoda and other factions. Within the Likud, the Liberals are fighting a rear-guard action to prevent their being eaten up by Herut.

Shinui and "Ratz" (Shulamit Aloni's Citizens Rights Movement) are most likely to pick up new adherents at the expense of the Labour Party; and Tehiya from Herut. And where will Ezer Weizman's new party get its votes? From those who in the past voted for the Alignment or for the Likud?

How large is the floating vote? It ranges anywhere from 20 to 25 per cent, according to Dr. Shemer, while Gill adds that 20 to 25 per cent of floating voters only makes up their minds the very minute they enter a polling booth. This explains why public opinion polls can only indicate trends, not final results.

A recent example of the inability to judge the size of the floating vote was Ariel Sharon's showing within the Likud. Predictions of his support as a nominee to head the party's list ranged from 20 to 30 per cent. He pulled 42 per cent.

No one has yet seriously polled those who claim voting age since the last elections. This is the generation that served in the army in Lebanon.

The opposite of the floating vote is each party's solid kernel of die-hard faithful, who remain true to their party despite its ups and downs. It is a sort of religion.

Dr. Shemer says the Likud has the smallest die-hard kernel, about 45 to 50 per cent. The Alignment's inner core is about 35 per cent, she says. Moreover, recently polls have shown that the Alignment has already picked up about 6 per cent of the floating vote from "all political parties, including the Likud." This gives the Alignment a much better jumping off position.

ALL THOSE questioned still think that the race will be close, perhaps as close as the last elections in which less than 1 per cent of the votes decided the country's political leadership. But both big parties are not fighting merely for this 1 per cent; they want much more, so as to lessen the importance of future coalition partners.

AT PRESENT Dr. Shemer typifies the floating voter as a middle-aged Ashkenazi who would identify himself (or herself) as "traditional" (mesorati) religious if asked whether he (or she) is secular, traditional or Orthodox.

Arie Ruttenberg adds that the floating voter identifies with one camp emotionally but rationally asks himself what is good for the country. "If both factors work together within his present party, he remains faithful; but if he thinks the opposition party's policies are better for the country as a whole, he abandons his present party for a new one."

"We are set to react within hours to any fault-finding," says Uri Aylon. "We must react quickly - before the opposition's statements take root in the mind of the electorate."

The advertising men say the main thrust of the Alignment campaign will be the economy; the Likud will focus on the West Bank and its settlement policies. This is their current assessment - no political party has yet selected its advertising agency.

As for finance and economics, "the overwhelming majority of the voters are not interested in these

subjects in the abstract; their interest is definitely personal," says Dr. Shemer. "The voter concentrates on how much money he has at present in his pocket, or in his bank account or in his savings and investment portfolio; these voters leave such abstract subjects as the adverse balance of payments to the intellectual minority."

The "personal finances" orientation gives the Alignment a sharp weapon of attack. Many people, especially wage earners, are finding that a nice chunk of their take-home pay simply dissolves before it can be spent. "Short-term deposits," etc., offered by the commercial banks cannot make up this difference. Moreover, the crash of commercial bank shares wiped out the savings of tens of thousands of persons.

(This helps explain why Alignment MK Adi Amora'i rushed to correct a statement that he allegedly favoured linking Param accounts to the index if and when the Alignment takes power.)

THE LIKUD's defence will probably run something like this: "True, inflation is rampant, but is anybody really suffering? The stores are bursting with food, clothes, TV sets, and so on. And people have the money to buy and buy, and to go abroad. As for the collapse of the commercial bank shares, can you really blame the Likud for this?"

Then the Likud will probably counter-attack: "The Alignment wants to impose a regime of austerity like that of Dov Joseph in the early days of the state. Do you remember when nearly everything was rationed, and a huge black market in food existed? Better Cohen-Orgad's mild belt-tightening policies than the Alignment's severe ones."

The Likud has the advantage of controlling the Treasury's purse-strings. Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Orgad might be tempted to "Aridize" the economy before elections, but it seems more likely that the Likud wants to be perceived as the rebuilder of the national economy, even if this means pinching some pockets.

The Likud will try to detract attention from the economic situation by waving the flag. Israel is facing a historic opportunity to settle the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and ensure they will become a part, integral or otherwise, of the State of Israel. (This helps to explain why the Likud, with a push from Tehiya, wants a decision on more settlements before the elections.)

The Likud will play up the danger of the possible emergence of a Palestinian State that would provide the PLO with a much more effective launching pad for terror attacks on Israel. The Likud will argue that the Arab countries must follow Egypt's initiative in making peace with Israel.

The Alignment will say it is folly to build settlements in densely populated Arab areas, that the West Bank should be settled according to the Allon Plan and that physical borders do not ensure physical survival.

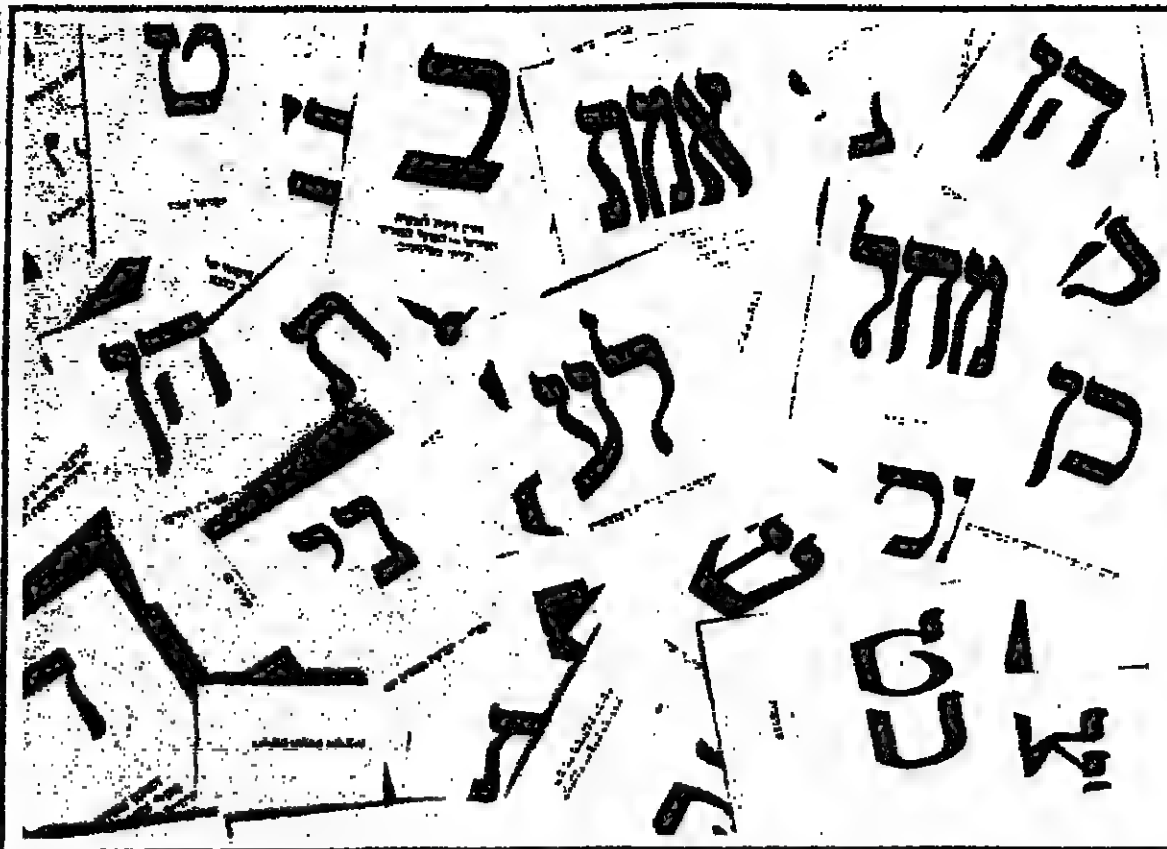
ANOTHER AREA of thrust and counter-thrust will be the Alignment's claim that the Likud administration failed to function effectively. The subterranean economy has grown enormously; and the hallmark of Likud administration was numerous leaks from closed cabinet meetings. Cabinet ministers spent more time fighting with each other than trying to run the country, and the Likud failed miserably to stand up to the blackmailing tactics of its smaller coalition partners.

The Likud's defence is expected to be that Agudat Yisrael's Avraham Shapira has gone on record as saying that he could milk more out of the Alignment than he could out of the Likud. We functioned quite well, the Likud will respond, quarrels among its leaders represent democracy in action.

The Likud will criticize the former kitchen cabinet approach of the Alignment in which a handful of persons made national decisions and rammed them down the throat of coalition partners.

The Likud will assert that the Labour Party, in its various constellations, ran the country like a private fiefdom. Although it will probably avoid any direct mention of the tragic death of Ya'acov Levinson, it will probably publicize one of his last statements: "they" are already "dividing up the booty."

What if the Alignment brings up the Lebanese quagmire? The Likud will claim that the Alignment deliberately undermined the war effort by breaking, for the first time, the national consensus. (The Alignment will have an easy answer: Herut demolished the national consensus in pre-state days.) Friction between the secular and the Orthodox



apparently will be avoided. Ditto on friction between the Ashkenazi and Sephardi Israelis. The subjects are

too likely to produce unpredictable reactions. Although the No. 1 man in both the big blocs is Ashkenazi,

No. 2 is Sephardi. The Alignment may have gained some advantage in Yeroham Meshel's relinquishing top

spot in the Histadrut to Israel Kessar.

THE PERSONALITIES of the leaders of both major parties will be subjected to a cruel examination if the past is anything to go by. But in every political campaign, no matter how well planned and executed, imponderables creep in.

A suicide terrorist squad running wild in Jerusalem, shooting up everything in sight, could swing thousands of votes to the Likud. Or, if King Hussein indicated his willingness to reach some sort of political understanding with Israel over the West Bank, thousands of votes might flow to the Alignment.

It seems incredible, but the PLO or King Hussein may have the deciding say in shaping Israel's next coalition.

Who actually draws up the political campaigns? It is the party leaders themselves. The advertising agencies are relegated to choosing the best method of putting "the message" across to the public. Aylon says that when "we see that the political leaders are making an obvious mistake, we caution them, and we thrash things out. But the final decision is the party's."

Aylon says that various strategies are tested before being put into practice by "focus panels," or by discussion groups led by a psychiatrist.

THE POLLSTERS and the advertising men disagree on many things, but are unanimous on one: they are professionals. Ruttenberg says, "Our agency will work for any Zionist party" - with the emphasis on "Zionist" - without fear or favour. We are like doctors, lawyers and CPAs. We do the best for any client.

Within his agency, he says, there is a wide range of political opinions. "And we like it that way. My personal experience is that if an agency favours one party, or one candidate, it loses its sense of perspective. It is too willing to forget the flaws in its own party, which can be exploited by the opposition, and it sees only the flaws in the other party, not its strong points."

Surprisingly, only a small percentage, about 10 to 15 per cent of any agency's annual income, comes from an election campaign. The rest comes from promoting commercial products. Why then does an agency turn itself inside out for a few months?

"Professionally, it is very interesting," says Ruttenberg. "You get to meet the country's political leaders, which otherwise we would rarely have access to. And there are two other benefits. If we succeed, a lot of party members in commercial life will turn to our agency during the next few years. And putting together a successful campaign is an invigorating experience. We use everything we have learned. It is professionally very educational. What we learn we can use elsewhere. After all, there isn't much difference between selling a political party and a bar of soap."

## FOR YOM HA'ATZMAUT!



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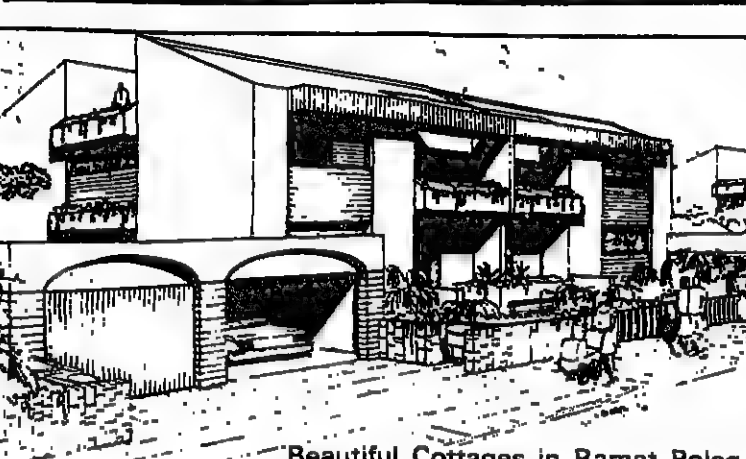
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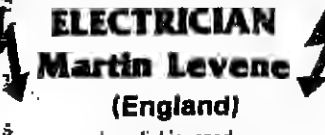
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# Context

AN EARNEST attempt to deter-  
mine whether the air waves are giv-  
ing us more good news, and less bad,  
as promised by the new management  
at the Broadcasting Authority, has  
so far yielded nothing decisive. It is  
still too early for such an analysis;  
and anyway, one man's meat is  
another man's mulchig no matter  
who's in charge.

Take, for instance, the apolitical  
yet startling appearance of a "Nu?"  
as uttered by the anchor-man during  
a recent interview on Channel Two's  
Midday Magazine. For some, "Nu?"  
may evoke warm, homey feelings;  
for others, an Ashkenazi plot —  
though people of all reservations in  
Tiberias (when I live) go around  
saying "Nu?"

I happen to have a wildly irrational  
hatred of "Nu?", and consider it a  
piece of disgusting insolence. So  
when it pops up so rudely during a  
discussion of economics or geopolitics  
or something, I take off for the  
Voice of Hope or some other such  
planet like a startled and enraged  
hare. No Nu's? is good Nu's?...

On the same programme, though  
not on the same day (I was much too  
aquiver to absorb anything during a  
longish post-Nu? convalescence),  
there was a little item about a brand  
new "Blue and White," or "Made in  
Israel" bus, which might easily be  
taken as an obligatory piece of good  
news. After hearing it, though,  
listeners had every right to suspect  
that this may have been the Leftist  
Journalist Mafia way of smirking at  
new rules. Because it turns out that  
the body of the new Blue-and-White  
is imported. Naturally, the engine is  
imported too. So what's local, aside  
from the assembly? Why, "the plan-  
ning." And what's so special about  
this newsworthy Israeli design? Well,  
it "meets Israel's special logistic  
requirements." It was not ex-  
plained why a good, bad, or indiffe-

# Good waves and bad

By HELGA DUDMAN / Jerusalem Post Reporter

rent road is so different from the  
same elsewhere. Perhaps it's that the  
drivers are worse, or that they ca-  
reen around saying "Nu?" — which  
they are entitled to, if this is the road  
to industrial independence.

Bialik's extra-marital love-life was  
featured in a fascinating account by  
Moshe Shamir, and I am open to  
suggestions as to whether this is good  
news or bad. Stunned by the revela-  
tion, I neglected to jot down the  
channel, but it was a Saturday at  
four; and what better way of spend-  
ing a coolish Saturday afternoon  
than hearing a dose of ancient gos-  
sip?

So we had love poems written by  
Bialik to a woman not his wife, and,  
as Shamir explained, this other  
woman was probably his "great  
love." Her name was Ira Jann, if I  
am transliterating correctly. She was  
a painter and also married at the  
time. Not good looking, and with a  
bad figure, but with "marvellous  
eyes," and apparently a very rich  
"inner life."

All this was going on long before  
most of us were born, and the affair  
started decades before the Bialiks  
came to Palestine. He was in Odessa  
and she was in Kishenev, and he  
wanted her to move to Odessa be-  
cause this, of course, would make  
things more convenient. They did  
manage a romantic interlude during  
the Zionist Congress in The Hague  
(Zionists were Zionists), from  
where Bialik, most ungallantly,  
wrote a letter to his wife informing  
her that Ira Jann had "grown very  
old."

She came to Palestine with her  
daughter in 1907, and died of tuber-  
culosis before the Bialiks finally ar-  
rived here.

Thinking it over, I would call it  
good news because it casts a new  
light on poor Tchernichowsky's  
reputation. He, we are usually told,  
was the big womanizer, and no won-  
der, because he was certainly more  
attractive than the official poet.  
Bialik, we are usually told, was the  
straight-toeing financially adept  
Establishment figure, with his  
yiddish-speaking Many hovering  
over him. Now we know that Bialik,  
too, needed to get away.

I MYSELF shared something of a  
magic moment recently with Ram  
Evron; his wife doesn't know a thing  
about it, and neither does he. It  
happened right at the start of his  
wonderful "Golden Age of Musi-  
cians" on the Voice of Music. The  
signature theme opens with a violin  
solo — a lyrical quaver with that  
tremulous, pre-technology magic so  
suited to great recordings of 40 or 50  
years ago, back when people had  
more important things on their  
minds than super-hardware for re-  
cording techniques.

For weeks I had been telling my-  
self that I was a boor for not know-  
ing what it was, much less who was  
playing. And then suddenly, at that  
very instant, Ram, if I may call him  
that (and under the circumstances I  
think I may), spoke to me and ex-  
plained, patiently and kindly but  
also somehow enthusiastically, that  
the two of us were hearing Joseph

Szigeti playing a Mozart Diver-  
timento. Why are these pre-sterco  
encounters so powerful? Because  
dead musicians are playing to us  
from another world?

And what happens today? The  
times are so in love with psycho-self-  
improvement that last week's pro-  
gramme listing for the Voice of Music  
promised the "complete opera: Bel-  
lini's *Norma*."

THE GOOD NEWS I was hoping  
for may have been edited out of the  
news coverage of the Jerusalem  
Mini-Marathon. (What a hopeless  
word! Like television, a mixed mar-  
riage of Latin and Greek, from  
which the worst may be expected.)  
For me, the only good news such an  
event can bring is some huge traffic  
jam. But of this, not a word.

To me, it is blindingly clear why  
the only good modern mini-  
marathon is the one that creates  
traffic chaos. In case this is not so  
apparent to others, I will merely  
point out briefly that all those horde  
of joggers represent in their normal  
lives hordes of automobiles; very  
few of them will ever walk to the  
corner for a loaf of bread, let alone  
heaven forbid — to the nearest bus-  
stop. Nope: if it's not jogging prac-  
tice, it's drive, drive. So let them, in  
their brief role as hysterical pedest-  
rians, nerve-wrackingly interfere  
with their motorized colleagues, at  
least on this festive occasion.

The only good part of the news  
coverage was the sporting, and  
hence unusual, comment at the end  
by the good-loser and runner-up

favourite, delivered — naturally — in  
an American accent. For his repre-  
sentation of the disappearing voice  
of politeness, here in Israel, he ought  
to go down in history like Pheidip-  
pides, the original heroic Athenian  
Olympic champion who, in 490  
B.C.E., ran home after the Battle of  
Marathon — Greeks versus Persians —  
bringing the good news of the Athe-  
nian and Spartan victory over Darius  
the Mede. After the run, he dropped  
dead at the outskirts of Athens,  
gaping (in Greek, as my musty  
source gratuitously has it): "Re-  
joice, we conquer!"

Nothing of this high style ever  
turns up on "Songs and Goals";  
nothing but an endless droning on  
about Petah Tikva's love for Ramat  
Gan (OK, OK; many love it, and  
one man's Mede is another man's  
parshan). With just a little mental  
strain, the boys might have given us  
some lively aspects of memorable  
marathons. In the first modern one,  
in Athens in 1896, a Greek peasant  
won — according to one source, in  
2:55:20 (millionths of a second unre-  
corded in those primitive times), but  
according to another, in 2:58:50.

Afterwards, "women tore off  
their jewelry to fling it at his feet,  
a hotel proprietor gave him an order  
for 365 free meals, and a street  
urchin pressed forward with the  
promise to black his boots for no-  
thing for the rest of his life."

In 1920, Hannes Kolehmainen of  
Finland won in 2:32:55.8 (times are  
improving, and we have tenths of a  
second), and in 1952, the famous  
Emil Zátopek of Czechoslovakia, in  
2:23:03.2, I can do sports statistics  
too — and who cares?

If the next marathon flowers into a  
really good traffic jam, I promise to  
tell the heartwarming story of the  
Italian waiter whose win in 1908, in  
the run from Windsor Castle to the  
stadium at Shepherd's Bush, was  
disputed.

## Marvellous mood of meditation

### MUSIC

ambitious, demanding. No less than  
five cantatas were offered in addi-  
tion to a festive fanfare and a musical  
quotation to honour the memory of  
Recha Freier (who died recently at  
the age of 92). Bach provided the  
opening and closing items, but most  
interest focused on two premieres:  
Sergiu Natra's *Nes Aninim*—Cantata,  
a commission from the Protestant  
Church of the Rheinland, and  
Blarr's cantata *In te Domine speravi*,  
based on a Gesualdo Fragment and  
dedicated to a victim of Auschwitz.

An ecumenical note was contri-  
buted by the only instrumental piece  
on the programme — Ben Zion  
Orgad's *Monologue* for Viola Solo,  
which found in Genter Ojstersek  
an excellent performer and interpre-  
ter. The Israeli composer's work,  
which can be interpreted as a one-  
sided dialogue with God, a prayer,  
or a questioning of eternal values, a  
search for truth, peace and wisdom,  
came to life in these surroundings,  
quite naturally and convincingly. In  
his music Orgad goes back to roots  
that possibly may be common to  
both religions.

In contrast to the more intimate  
character of this event, the concert at  
the Redeemer Church was outgoing.

Platte, the concertmaster). Oscar  
Gottlieb Blarr, the musical director  
and spiritual father of the whole  
undertaking, reigned supreme.

The programme, with all its rich-  
ness of musical offerings and  
ecumenical associations, could be  
experienced at first hearing only  
rather superficially, as too much in  
terms of music and sentiments bore  
down on the listener, but the mes-  
sage of brotherhood and friendship  
came over clearly and impressively,  
and the singularity of the occasion  
was evident to all present.

Musical evaluation of the new  
works requires further listening, and  
it is to be hoped that this perfor-  
mance will not turn out to be an  
isolated event. Musically, and  
humanly, new bonds were created,  
which deserve and demand to be  
continued. The level and intensity of  
the performances were a great credit  
to the Düsseldorfers and their  
director, Oscar Gottlieb Blarr.

**YOHANAN BOEHM**  
PIANO RECITAL by Daniel Barenboim (Mann  
Auditorium, Tel Aviv, April 14). Beethoven,  
Sonata No. 30 in E Major, Op. 109, Sonata No.  
31 in A flat Major, Op. 110; Liszt, Etudes

d'execution transcendante (Nos. 1, 7, 5, 12, 9, 10).

EVEN AS great an artist as Daniel  
Barenboim is not infallible in choos-  
ing a programme. The Beethoven  
sonatas were a unique experience  
but their spiritual peak was followed  
by the disturbing emptiness of the  
Liszt études. Even the encores of  
Albeniz and Chopin, with all their  
meaningful moods and exquisite  
beauty of detail, could hardly mend  
the effect of the Liszt.

In the Beethoven, Barenboim dis-  
tanced himself from the music to see  
clearly what the composer had in  
mind and then embraced Beethoven  
in a performance of almost visual  
clarity of phrasing, of expressive  
nuances. His tone was singing with  
an almost-human quality. And one  
marveled at the overall compass-  
ness of conception and the unassail-  
able structural logic.

But the serious problem of what to  
play in the second part of the recital  
was one he solved badly. Though  
played well and offering many  
beautiful moments, the Liszt pieces,  
under the circumstances, had no  
significance. And anyhow virtuosity,  
as Liszt displays it, is not exactly  
Barenboim's forte. The magic spell  
of the recital was irrevocably gone.

**SOUND OF CHOIRS.** Israel Kibbutz Choir,  
Ehud, Phyllis Isaacson of the U.S. conducting  
(Tel Aviv Museum, April 25). Works by  
Giovanni Croce, Leo Hassler, Jan Sweeduck,  
Four, Sir John, Bachmann, Leo, Goss,  
Yehuda Braun, Mendelssohn, Daniel Pink-  
ham, Brahms, jazz tunes, spirituals.

NUMEROUS recent a-cappella  
concerts by various local and foreign  
choirs reinforce the impression that  
a radical change in programme pol-  
icy is needed. Many short items (this  
concert included no less than 22  
numbers) simply do not satisfy any  
more. And the practice of starting  
with Renaissance pieces and pro-  
gressing more or less historically  
through the romantic era towards  
lighter pieces, with some short mod-  
ern interpolations here and there,  
also no longer seems effective.

As the pieces, so the singing —  
nice, pleasant, pleasing. Phyllis  
Isaacson must undoubtedly be cre-  
dited with considerable achieve-  
ments. The chorists reacted atten-  
tively to the conductor's instruc-  
tions: the range of dynamics and  
expression was considerable; and  
sonority, in general, seemed well  
worked out and often rather im-  
pressive.

Besides the Ives, which stood  
out, there was no surprise, boldness  
or climax in the music or in the  
performance.

**BENJAMIN BAR-AM**

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## History in the making

By SASHA SADAN / Jerusalem Post Reporter



Carl Degler.

(Dan Schaffner)

WHITE-HAIRED and slight in build, Carl Degler does not strike one right off as the embodiment of the American dream.

The son of a fireman and the first in his family to go to high school, he has become a distinguished scholar and is in Israel to deliver this year's Samuel Paley lectures at the Hebrew University, a series inaugurated 23 years ago by poet Robert Frost.

Degler has a bevy of coveted prizes tucked under his belt, including a Pulitzer Prize in history. Tomorrow at HU, in his third and last lecture, he will wind up his theme, the "beast in humanity."

"The beast" is Degler's metaphor for the social influence of Darwinian ideas. But these lectures are far from mere abstract theorizing.

Darwin's ideas and those of Francis Galton, the man who coined the term "eugenics," had spread so widely a generation after the publication of their major works that it did not seem inhumane for the U.S. to be blanketed in laws permitting the involuntary sterilization of mental patients.

The principle, Degler noted in his first lecture, was upheld by the Supreme Court in 1927, in a decision handed down by liberal Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr., with the concurrence of the famous Jewish Justice Louis Brandeis.

The historian pointed out that racists used Darwinian ideas to back their argument, as did those who fought the immigration to the U.S. of Jews, Poles and Italians. As one white Anglo-Saxon Protestant, Calvin Coolidge, said in a popular magazine, "some groups will not mix or blend."

DEGLER is of German and Lutheran stock. He happened to go to Lutheran Uppsala College, because it was the school "next door" to his native Newark. He majored in history, and thought vaguely of studying law, but World War II put off graduate school.

He did go back to his studies, however, completed a Ph.D. at Columbia and taught at various colleges in the New York area. But he didn't feel he was getting very far.

"I had fallen in with a group of economists and thought I might get a

job in the field - I even had an opening - but I had married by then, and with one child, and one on the way. I got a job teaching at Vassar."

That job at the small but prestigious women's college (now co-ed) reinvigorated him, he says. He could teach "anything he wanted," and from material he used for a course on American cultural history he shaped his first book, *Out of Our Past*, a look at the past from the present, covering various subjects from the

Eisenhower administration back to the time of the Puritans.

Harper and Row brought the book out in 1959, and it was reviewed by an expert in the field, David Potter of Yale, who called it the best one-volume book about American history. Degler has just completed the finishing touches on the third edition.

It's his view - not history as a fixed story.

"I wouldn't have the nerve now, as a senior professor, to do what I did then as a junior professor," the historian observes. He finds that in his research much is discovered by accident, and he enjoys going through the source material first hand - "you get leads you don't anticipate otherwise."

In that first book (followed by others on slavery, the period of the robber barons, affluence and anxiety in post-war U.S.) Degler wrote about the place of blacks in American society and also a good bit about women "because I was teaching at a women's college."

IT WAS puttering about the Vassar library that Degler found an original edition (1899) of a book about women and economics by Charlotte Perkins Gilman. He wrote about the author and her ideas in a magazine article in 1956, long before feminism was fashionable, and that scholarly effort, he notes, "protects me from the charge of being a Johnny-come-lately." In fact, Degler was one of two men among the 35 founding members of NOW, the National Organization of Women.

He considers himself a feminist - advocating that women ought to have the same opportunities as men - though he is no spokesman for the movement. After 16 years at Vassar, he moved West to California and Stanford. "I'm not very good at sticking with organizations," he says.

His latest book, *At Odds: Women and the Family in America from the Revolution to the Present*, documents how women have tended to subordinate their interests to those of their families. What he does not go into, and has been criticized for, he says, is how the conflict is going to be resolved. Nor is his view that it's not going to be easy to get men to give up their prerogatives likely to prove popular.

He warns those who cleave to the belief that biological differences between the sexes are of minor social significance to be on the alert: there is a resurgence these days of Darwinian ideas in the social sciences, with researchers looking for the biological basis of the way we behave. More on this in his next lecture.

the basis of the separation of powers between the three authorities of the state, the court would not interfere, even if it regarded the proposed Law as unjust or unreasonable. In the final analysis, the supervision and control of the legislative functions of the Knesset lie solely in the hands of the voter himself. Justice Bach also cited precedents of the Supreme Court in support of this conclusion.

It has accordingly been held in the United States, Justice Bach continued, where the Supreme Court has jurisdiction to set aside unconstitutional legislation, that the initial legislative process may not be restrained, even if it is designed to create a law which will be unconstitutional. Thus it has been held "That this court... will not entertain a suit to test the constitutionality of a proposed Act of the legislature on the ground that, if such an Act is enacted, it will interfere with the constitutional rights of the litigant." The law there accepts the rule that "...no court can interfere with the process of legislation to prevent the possible enactment of an unconstitutional measure. For abuses of the legislature, the people must resort to the polls for protection, not to the courts."

Despite his conclusion on the law, Justice Bach found it necessary to refer to the petitioners' objections to the particular legislation now discussed. They had emphasized that the petition did not deal with a mere technical fault in a law, or even with the interpretation of a law. They had complained of the allotment of vast sums of money to certain religious institutions without any clear and objective criteria, by the dictate of a few single members of the Knesset.

In other words, they protested against an improper system that was diametrically opposed to all norms of healthy administration. At the stage of the granting of the order nisi, counsel for the Attorney-General had agreed that the petition raised serious questions. Nevertheless, although the respondents were aware that the "system" complained of posed a serious problem which should be dealt with by the court, the Minister of Finance had tabled a draft law with the apparent intention of perpetuating the system and giving it legal force, instead of specifying in the budget a global sum and leaving the question of its allocation to be decided after the High Court of Justice had given its judgment.

Nevertheless, in spite of these questionable features, which are a proper subject for debate and clarification in the Knesset, the court would not be justified in granting the relief sought.

Justice Aharon Barak agreed with his colleagues.

For the above reasons the application was dismissed.

Advocate Yitzhak Neuner appeared for the petitioners, and Advocate Renato Yarak, director of the High Court Division of the State Attorney's Office, for the respondents.

The judgment was given on April 19, 1984.

KEEP YOUR EYES OPEN! REPORT SUSPICIOUS OBJECTS

## Refusal to interfere

LAW REPORT / Asher Felix Landau

Counsel for the respondents did not deny the government's intention to place the proposed law before the Knesset, his only argument being that the matter was one between the executive and the legislative authorities of the state in which the judicial authority would not interfere, as it had never done in the past.

THE FIRST judgment of the court was given by Justice Eliezer Goldberg. The preparation of the proposed law, he said, and its presentation to the Knesset, were acts of the Government under section 3(b)(1) of the Basic Law: The State Economy, and there was no doubt that these administrative acts of the government, as all such acts on its part, were subject to review by the High Court of Justice.

Counsel for the respondents had not argued, therefore, that the court lacked jurisdiction to give the order sought. The question was how the court should exercise its discretion in the matter on the assumption that the proposed law was really aimed at establishing the "system" complained of, and defeating review by the court.

Counsel for the petitioners had argued that the question of the relationship between the executive and legislative authorities of the state did not arise, and that since the prop-

osed-law had not yet been tabled in the Knesset, its sovereignty in dealing with proposed laws was not in issue. The question in issue, he contended, was one between the judicial and executive authorities since the latter was attempting to by-pass the former by means of its approach to the legislature.

According to counsel, it was inconceivable that the government would initiate legislation to prevent a judgment of the court, an act which would offend against the principle of *sub judice* enshrined in section 41 of the Courts Law of 1957, and would also constitute an offence under section 244 of the Penal Law of 1977, which prohibits the doing of an act "with the intention of preventing or frustrating a judicial proceeding or inducing an injustice."

To present the problem as one affecting only the executive and judicial authorities of the state was to present only one side of the picture, Justice Goldberg said. The fact was - although it was expressed only indirectly - that the petitioners wished to prevent the Knesset from considering a proposed law, and the question was whether the court would take such a step. In his opinion the sovereignty of the legislature, "embracing the free will of the people," precluded such action.

The court had already refused to restrain the attorney-general and the government from initiating legislation concerning interest and linkage relating to the compensation payable under the Invalids (Nazi Persecution) Law of 1957. It was true that in that case there was no proceeding pending before the court, but that factor did not justify a departure from the court's basic attitude in such matters, an approach accepted also in English authorities, which he cited.

The sovereignty of the Knesset to accept a proposed law is not affected by a petition to court. Even if legislation is proposed to prevent court proceedings in regard to the validity of an existing law, the change in the law will be effective for the future, and even retrospectively. It makes no difference, therefore, whether the law is changed during the court proceedings, or thereafter. The court cannot prevent legislation if that is the sovereign wish of the Knesset.

JUSTICE Gavriel Bach concurred. It was true, he said, that the preparation and presentation by the government to the Knesset of a proposed law were, formally speaking, administrative acts of the executive authority. Such acts, however, were in fact part of the legislative process, and their prevention would mean interference in the legislative function of the Knesset itself.

In this sense there was no difference between a private bill introduced by a member of the Knesset or one presented by the government - both had to be brought before the Knesset for its free and unfettered consideration. For this reason, on

### URGENT APPEAL

We appeal to the community at large on behalf of a prominent young man stricken with a rare disease. This father of eleven children is in need of extensive medical care, while currently unable to support his considerable family. Medical necessity also requires his immediate removal to proper accommodations. This dire situation and its unbearable financial burden move us to appeal to YOU.

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Bar Ilan University,  
Jerusalem

Prof. Yehuda Halevy  
Technological High School,  
Jerusalem

Rabbi Avraham Cahana Shapira

Chief Rabbi of Israel, Jerusalem

File no. 111 - 297/83

#### I wish to add my fervent appeal

In these few lines I wish to add my voice to the appeal for the head of a distinguished family with underage children, who has been stricken with a severe illness. This man is bedridden and unable to provide for his large family, in addition to the heavy outlay required for his medical treatment.

I therefore call upon my fellow Jews to assist the family in this difficult situation, in particular since the doctors have ordered the patient to change his present flat for a more appropriate one if he is to improve his physical condition.

All who lend a hand in this mitzva will surely receive the blessings of the Almighty and prosper in all their endeavours.

With our greetings,  
Avraham Shapira  
Chief Rabbi of Israel

For those who intended making contributions in the memory of those who perished in the Holocaust, or gave their lives in the defence of Israel, contributions for the welfare of this man and his family, would be a most fitting humanitarian gesture.

CONTRIBUTIONS should be sent to "Keren Batzala", c/o:

1. Adv. Gershon Holtzer, 1 Rehov Hagidim, Jerusalem 94590
2. Bank Hapo'alim, branch no. 533, acc. no. 54303, Jerusalem



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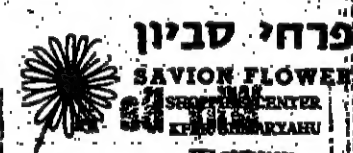


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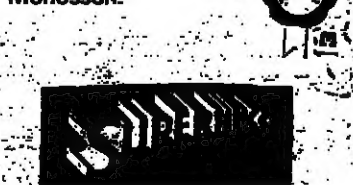
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## General Bank only one in 'arrangement' to make profit

**By MACABEE DEAN**  
Jerusalem Post Reporter  
TEL AVIV.— The Israel General Bank (Rothschild) had adjusted profits (under Advisory Opinion 28) of \$14 million in 1983, compared to adjusted profits of \$128.8m. in the previous year.

The bank reports that "achieving adjusted profits in one of the worst banking years in the country's history" should be considered an achievement. We are the only bank in the "arrangement" which made such a profit.

(Mizrahi, Leumi, Hapoalim, and Discount lost large sums adjusted for inflation and capital erosion.)

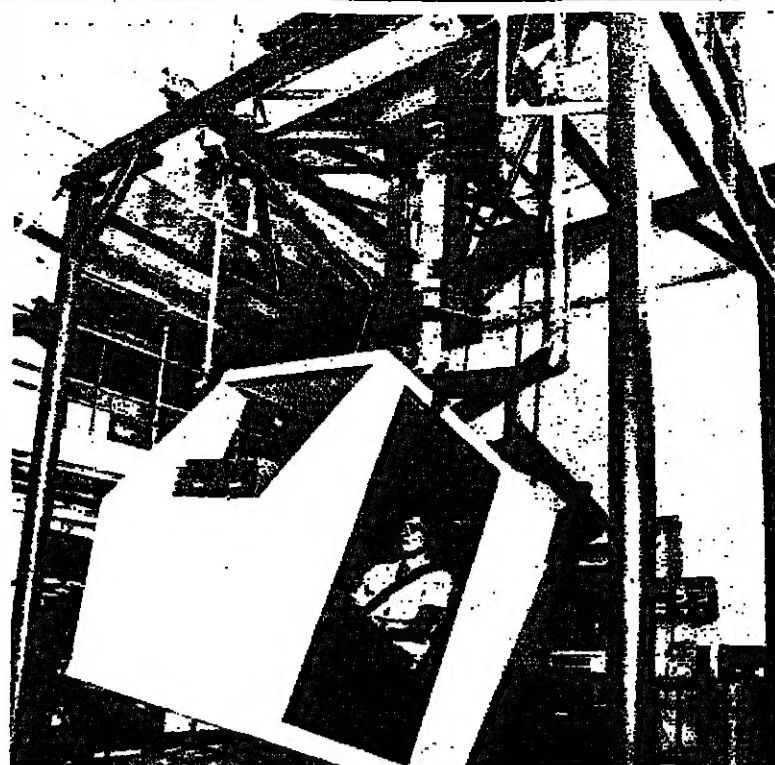
If the profits are given in nominal terms, they stood at \$132m. in 1983,

compared to \$148.8m. the previous year, which is a 38 per cent drop in nominal terms.

The bank's balance sheet grew by 224 per cent (18 per cent above inflation), to stand at \$25.5 billion.

The bank's capital grew fourfold during 1983, to stand at \$544m. (not including deferred capital notes), and this is 2.13 per cent of its total assets.

The bank, which is now headed by Arnon Gafny, former Governor of the Bank of Israel, recently moved into its new headquarters on Sderot Rothschild. (The bank's financial statements were published in the press before they were submitted to the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange's management to reprimand the bank.)



Researcher watches steady dials in flight simulator.

## 'Splendid' trade name gets Elite in trouble

**Jerusalem Post Reporter**  
TEL AVIV (Itim). — The Elite food company was charged last week with breaking the law by selling instant coffee by the name of "Splendid."

The prosecution told the court that the law forbids using trade names

that attribute high quality to a product. The company rejected the charge.

Tel Aviv Magistrate's Court Judge Moshe Matz agreed to the request of both parties that the trial be adjourned until June.

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## Taking the shocks out of landing

**By YA'ACOV FRIEDLER**  
Jerusalem Post Reporter  
HAIFA. — A flight simulator designed to help find ways of neutralizing the effect of the shocks and vibrations pilots are subject to at critical times, has been developed by the Technion's aeronautical engineering faculty.

The head of the research team, Prof. Shmuel Merhav, said this week that modern airplanes are subject to strong shocks and vibrations especially when landing and particularly when landing on the deck of a ship, just when maximal precision is required of the pilot. These shocks are characteristic of planes and helicopters as well as of tanks and ships. While it is impossible to prevent them, their negative effect on the pilot can be considerably reduced.

he said.

Merhav explained that these movements are hard to discern from outside, but are strongly felt by the pilot and badly affect his sight and operational ability. They make it hard for him to read his instrument board. The space shuttle Columbia was affected by such movements during one landing, and on some occasions they have caused accidents and even crashes.

In the Technion trials, a computer is programmed to "absorb" the vibrations, leaving the pilot unaffected.

The research is to continue for two years, funded by the Technion and the U.S. Air Force. Pilots who have tried the simulator were impressed by its performance. The Technion spokesman said.

## Highest paid U.S. executive made \$13.2m.

NEW YORK (AP) — NCR Corp. chairman William S. Anderson was the highest-paid executive in America last year, with salary, bonuses and stock options totaling \$13.2 million, *Business Week* magazine says.

Anderson, who recently retired from HHE Computer, Electronics and Business Information Company, earned nearly twice as much as Philip Caldwell, chairman of Ford Motor Co., the second-highest paid executive on *Business Week's* annual list. Caldwell earned \$7.3m., the magazine said in its May 14 issue.

Rounding out the top 10 were David Tendler, co-chairman of Phibro-Salomon, Inc., \$6.9m.; Thomas S. Murphy, chairman of Capital

Cities Communications Inc., \$6.1m.; Daniel B. Bruke, president of Capital Cities, \$4.35m.; William S. Cook, president of Union Pacific Corp., \$4.3m.

Also, Edward R. Telling, chairman, Sears, Roebuck & Co., \$4.2m.; Gerard A. Fulham, chairman, Pneumo Corp., \$3.9m.; Donald E. Petersen, president, Ford Motor, \$3.8m.; George Weissman, chairman, Philip Morris Inc., \$3.7m.

The survey said that average annual pay for corporate executives at 269 companies rose 13.1 per cent in 1983, far outstripping the 3.8 per cent inflation rate and the 5.5 per cent average increase for executives in 1982.

## IDB Bankholding lost IS1,859m.

**By MACABEE DEAN**  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — IDB Bankholding, the mother company of IDB Development and the Discount Bank, had net losses of IS1,859m. in 1983, compared to net profits of IS2,081m. in 1982, Raphael Recanati, board chairman and general manager of the corporation, reported yesterday.

Both figures are based on Advisory Opinion 23 of the Institute of Certified Public Accountants and takes inflation and capital erosion into account.

If these figures are translated into dollars at the representative rate of IS107.77 to the dollar at the end of 1983, the net loss becomes \$17.2m., compared to a net profit of \$19.3m. the previous year.

However, Eli Cohen, chairman of the executive committee of Discount, criticized this method of "conversion," although he admitted, that to arrive at the true figure in dollars was a long and complicated accounting process. (This "rough yardstick," and dividing adjusted shekels under Opinion 23 by 107.77 to obtain dollar results, has been widely adopted here this year to give the public a clearer picture of the situation, since the price of the shekel is changing daily.)

Recanati pointed out that the figures for IDB Bankholding, and not of Discount, its subsidiary, should be used when making any comparison with the other large commercial banks. "IDB Bankholding encompasses, through its subsidiaries, all our banking and non-banking activities, which are combined under the

same roof in the commercial banks."

Despite Advisory Opinion 23, IDB Development was a money-maker, although its adjusted profits fell far short of last year's. It made IS200m. in 1983 (or \$1.85m.), compared to IS1,941m. (or \$18m.) in 1982. This corporation includes such companies as Discount Investments, among others.

As for the Discount Bank itself, its losses (under Opinion 23) were IS4,122m. (or \$38.2m.) in 1983, compared to adjusted profits of IS171m. (or \$1.6m.) in 1982. (The bank lent \$187m. in 1983 to support its own shares.)

Recanati admitted that Discount Bank's losses would have been considerably greater, had they not been offset by \$13m. in net profits of Israel Discount Bank of New York.

Recanati was scathing in his criticism of the policies of the Finance Ministry, which had caused the Discount group as a whole to lose, money, he said.

He joined his colleagues from

Mizrahi, Leumi and Hapoalim in blaming the current situation on the fact that the banks had to pay tax advances on profits they had not made and had to pay high fines for overstepping liquidity limits. The fines would have been much smaller, or not been incurred at all, if the advances had not been levied. Moreover, he said, the banks were prevented from charging service fees high enough to cover costs, and they could not charge reasonable interest rates, and they also had to pay 15 per cent VAT on wages.

Recanati thought that all these "distortions" had cost the bank the equivalent of \$20m.

It was pointed out that the total losses of the Discount group were reflected in the financial statements of IDB Bankholding. This corporation did not hold all the shares of Discount or IDB Development (both are traded on the stock market); moreover, IDB Bankholding also had made profits from other sources.

If the financial statements are given in non-adjusted (inflationary) figures, the following emerges:

	1982	1983	change in %
IDB Bankholding balance sheet	IS880 billion	IS1,171b.	plus 208
net profits	IS4.8b.	IS7.8b.	plus 88
IDB Development balance sheet	IS28.8b.	IS74.1b.	plus 162
net profits	IS2.2b.	IS8b.	plus 188
Discount Bank balance sheet	IS377b.	IS1,166b.	plus 209
net profits	IS1,358million	IS871m.	minus 51

## Export Prize ceremony at Beit Hanassi Patt sees exports growing by up to 18% this year

**By GREER FAY CASHMAN**  
Industry and Trade Minister Gideon Patt voiced optimism on Monday that Israel and the U.S. would conclude a free-trade zone agreement this year, to be effective from 1985. Patt was speaking at the annual Export Prize ceremony at Beit Hanassi.

He said that the past two years were the most difficult ever faced by Israel's export industries, representing a period in which "we virtually marked time and made no progress."

An upsurge in exports during the first quarter of 1984 was indicative of an export increase for the whole year in the realm of 15-18 per cent, said Patt.

President Chaim Herzog played a subtle advocate on behalf of export industry workers, who he said were no less skillful or productive than

their overseas counterparts, yet earned much lower wages.

Herzog also revealed that during his recent visit to England he had asked the Jewish community to identify with Israel by buying Made in Israel goods.

Delta Galil Industries is the winner of the 1983 Export Prize. A special citation was also given to Bromine Compounds. Nine other firms in six fields of industry were awarded Approved Exporter certification. They were Gal Weissfeller Industries, Gideon Oberman Fashion Industries, Five 1 Jewellers, Vered Megiddo Jewelry, Amatz-Amcor, El Op Electro-Optics Industries, Elis Electronic Systems, Fibronics and Israel Diamond Trading Corporation.

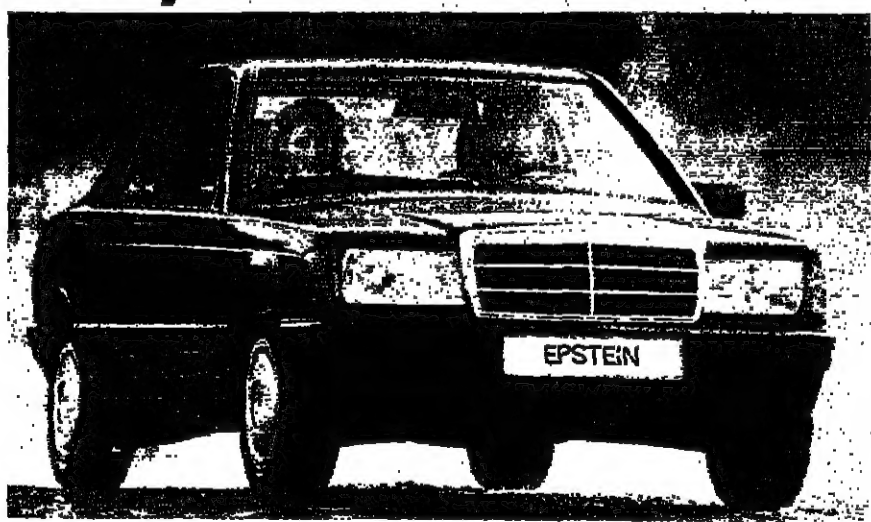
The eleven companies accounted for more than \$155 million worth of exports.

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## ONE-AND-ONE CROSSWORD

- ACROSS**

8 A follower takes a jug to the brook (4)

9 Don't miss Top of the Pops (3)

10 Made to fly—a particular course? (6)

11 Prepare to do battle with our bodyguard (6)

12 Hermit giving sound advice to master of a drifting ship (8)

13 The monarch declares them to be independent territories (9, 6)

15 Follows the sailor followed by a sailor (7)

17 Male fish of considerable length brought up the right way (7)

20 One hears early episodic T.V. is an alternative to "Porridge" (9, 6)

23 Pour rice pudding—and he will collect from the table (8)

25 Collection of ox dues proposed by Moses (6)

26 Spirit provided for a sort of gambling ritual (6)

27 Returning mini-submarine comes to a stop in the roads (3)

28 Go apace (4)

**DOWN**

1 Two pints and nothing else except the paper (6)

2 Reveals philatelic issues celebrating world unity maybe (8)

3 Diplomat accused over sexual involvements (6, 9)

4 Odd way to go over the hills (7)

5 Maybe it is churned out in cellophane packets (9, 6)

6 Goddess clad in light, or in an atmosphere of mystery (6)

7 Heredity factor in regeneration (4)

14 You, we hear, are a sheep (3)

16 Overshort, or so it is said (5)

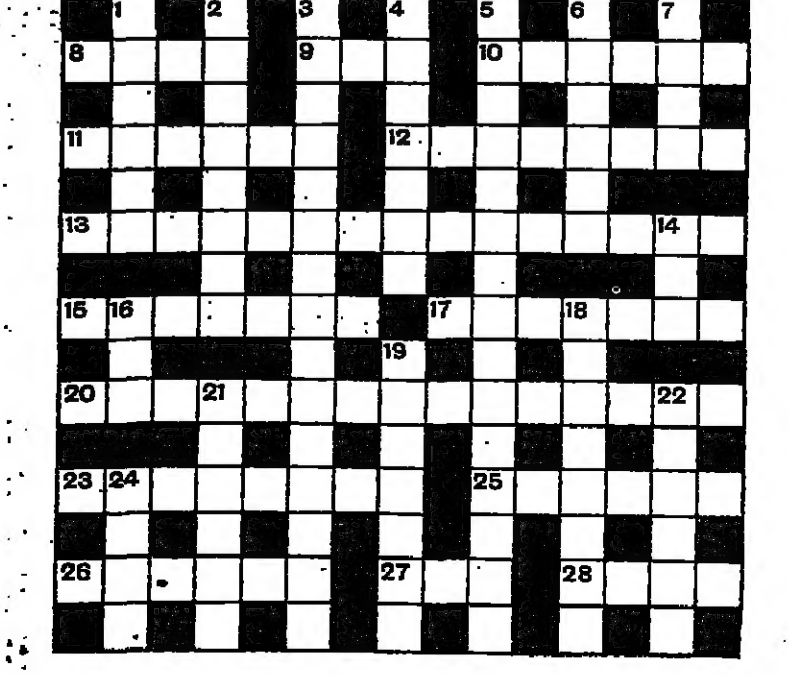
18 Slow coach from the wrong department of France (8)

19 Attribute to a writer (7)

21 God of the Egyptians who died in a bus crash (6)

22 Sailor employed insulting language it would seem (6)

24 Corporal or capital punishment? (4)



## GENERAL ASSISTANCE

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Roshan, Salah Eddin, 722315.  
Shu'afat, Shu'afat Road, 810108.  
Dar Eldawa, Herod's Gate, 28285.  
Tel Aviv: Mor. 1, Uziel, 440552.  
Kupat Holim Clalit, Amsterdam, 225142.  
Netanya: Not available.  
Haifa: Mouchet, o. Adit, 644231.  
Harman, K. Morzin, 745136.

**DUTY HOSPITALS**

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Ashdod 23181.  
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Beersheva 78333.  
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Eilat 72337.  
Hadera 22333.  
Haifa 512231.  
Holon 36333.  
Holon 303133.

Jerusalem 523133.  
Kiryat Shmona 44334.  
Nahariya 923333.  
Netanya 23333.  
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Rope Crisis Centre (24 hours), for help call Tel Aviv 234819, Jerusalem — 310310, and Haifa 88791.

**POLICE**

Dial 100 in most parts of the country, in Tiberias dial 024444, Kiryat Shmona 40444.

**QUICK CROSSWORD**

**ACROSS**

1 Large tap

4 Exmoor outlaws

5 Bring on oneself

8 Stableman

10 Climbing plant

**DOWN**

11 Recess in church

12 Pull behind

14 Operatic solo

15 Corn shell

18 Point of pen

21 Hard biscuit

23 Cattle thief

25 Right

26 English city

27 Kingly

28 Pre-Roman native

**DOWN**

1 Shy away

2 Not easily seen

3 Westwester

4 Deep plate

5 Field flower

6 Deserved

7 Map

13 American painter

16 Able to pay debts

17 Food retailer

19 Vicious animal

20 Gnat

22 Regretful

24 Tory P.M.

**Yesterday's Solution**

REBELLION H C U  
N L A N D I S O W N  
SCRATCHED B N D  
G O F T O D E A D L E  
P R I S O N V A N E T I D  
A P E G Y I N S T E P  
A P E G Y I N S T E P  
A U M T A G E N S  
L A M M A N S C M  
A B S C O U T U R I E  
N O L U C K T O T H E  
C T I M E W H O L E S O M E  
M O N I G E R E L E  
E E E G R A N D I R E

**QUICK SOLUTION:**  
ACROSS: 5 Known, 8 No better, 9 Pull, 10 Insistent, 13 Gory, 14 Aze, 16 Minor, 17 Odoles, 18 Lus, 20 Adept, 24 Permeant, 25 Flaky, 26 Bullseye, 27 Agony, 28 Bow, 1 Azevil, 2 Oboes, 3 Stalk, 4 Fences, 6 Narcotic, 7 Waitress, 12 Fiddling, 13 Sappho, 14 Aze, 15 Sag, 16 Uranus, 21 Weald, 22 Rebel, 23 Sheep.

**BAR-ILAN UNIVERSITY**  
Office of the President  
Faculty of Jewish Studies

The Brookdale Program  
Bar-Ilan

The Rena Costa  
Yiddish Chair

cordially invites the public to a lecture to be presented by  
**MR. GERSHON MAMLAK**  
of  
New York University  
well known Yiddish writer and historian  
who will speak on:  
"Christianity:  
Betrayal or Continuation of Judaism?"

The lecture will take place on Thursday, May 3, 1984, at 2:00 p.m., in the Liberman Hall (located between the Life Sciences and Mexico buildings) at Bar-Ilan University.

The lecture will be given in Yiddish.

**Money**

**Prices high**

**and delegates m**

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## Prices higher on small turnovers

TEL AVIV. - Prices rose on the market, often sharply, during the past two days, but the turnovers during both sessions were fairly small. On Monday the total turnover (of shares and convertibles) was \$149.3 million, while yesterday it fell to \$136.54m.

In addition to the general lack of interest in the market public, there are two other main reasons for the low turnovers. Many firms, such as the Discount group, Danot, and the General Bank, were not traded since they submitted their annual financial statements to the stock market.

Moreover, yesterday, Bank Hapoalim, which is a large broker, was closed yesterday on May 1. On Monday, some 110 shares (of which 16 were "buyers only") rose by 5 percent or more, and only 21 (three were "sellers only") fell by 5 percent or more.

Yesterday, the number of shares which rose by 5 percent or more was 29 (of which 14 were "buyers only"), while 37 fell by 5 percent or more, of which six were "sellers only."

The General Share Index rose by 0.97 percent on Monday, and if commercial banks are excluded, it rose by 2.72 percent. Yesterday the General Share Index gained another 1.44 percent, and without commercial banks, it rose by 2.78 percent.

On both days the indexes of all categories rose, with the biggest gains chalked up yesterday by oil exploration (5.21 percent), followed by trade and utilities, 3.48 percent. (Even if these figures are discounted for the devaluation of the shekel

### Tel Aviv Stock Exchange

BY MACABEE DEAN

during the past few days, the gains are quite interesting).

"Arrangement" bank shares rose yesterday, with Hapoalim rising by two percent. But the commercial banks not in the "arrangement" put in the best showing, with Fibi gaining 15 percent; Maritime almost 10 percent, and First International 4.4 percent. Other shares which rose by 10 percent include: Binyan, Contractors, Meir Ezra, Hadarim, Pri-Zeh, Hiron, and Delek. However, Ararat 5 fell by 10 percent.

On Monday, the following rose by 10 percent: Hadarim, Clal Leasing; Menora Insurance; Azorim, Central Trading; Magor and Seismic.

Among the shares which showed substantial gains two days running were several investment companies. For example, Clal Industries rose by 6.7 percent on Monday and by 10.1 percent yesterday; Discount Investments rose by 7.5 percent and 5.1 percent; Oze Investments "B" rose by 4.9 percent and 9.7 percent; and Oze Investments "C" gained 6.4 percent and 4 percent.

Among oil exploration shares, Delek 1 gained 8.1 percent and 10 percent; JOEL rose by 15 percent and 12.1 percent. However, in most cases, despite the sharp jumps in

prices, turnovers were quite small. However, this was not the case with Discount Investments, which had a turnover of \$11.7m. on Monday and of \$11.4m. yesterday. Clal Industries had turnover of \$5.5m. on both days.

Index-linked bonds were firm, but a few rose by up to 3 percent. The index for bonds rose by 0.4 percent.

African Israel Investments has decided to go ahead with building an additional 100 rooms at its Ganei Hamat Hotel in Tiberias. The company notes that construction will be in line with the instructions handed down by the Chief Rabbi.

Ampa Investments reports an adjusted loss of \$126m. for 1983, but notes that its nominal profits grew by 550 percent and its real profits by 360 percent, to stand at \$185m.

Hapoalim Investments had an adjusted profit of \$101.9m. for 1983, compared to an adjusted profit of \$111.9m. for 1982.

Danot Investments reports an adjusted loss of \$13.27m. for 1983, compared to an adjusted profit of \$129.5m. for 1982. The unadjusted loss for 1983 was \$12.01m.

Haifa Chemicals had an adjusted profit of \$168.8m. for 1983, compared to an adjusted loss of \$131.7m. for 1982. The company will distribute 200 cent bonus and 30 percent cash dividends.

Shemen reports an adjusted loss of \$158m. for 1983, compared to an adjusted loss of \$140.9m. for 1982. Zvi Zur has been appointed chairman of the board of Sunfront. Menora Insurance reports an adjusted loss of \$120m. for 1983.

Binyan Mortgage has decided to allocate 100 percent bonus shares, as well as to increase its registered capital from \$130m. to \$150m.

Most active stocks

Leumi	2,910	\$528.2m.	n.e.
Hapoalim	4,605	\$128.4m.	+90
Fibi	446	\$152.2m.	+58
Stocks traded:		\$153.1m.	
Bonds:		\$125.1m.	
Stocks up:		273	
Stocks down:		79	

### Bank of Israel exchange rates

May 1, 1984	180.90
U.S. dollar	252.64
British sterling	
German mark	
French franc	
Dutch guilder	58.791
Swiss franc	
Swedish krona	
Norwegian krona	
Danish krona	18.085
Finnish mark	
Canadian dollar	140.41
Australian dollar	166.85
South African rand	143.97
Belgian franc (10)	
Austrian schilling (10)	
Italian lire (100)	79.629
Japanese yen (100)	202.97
Irish pound	479.39
Spanish peseta (100)	31
Jordanian dinar	479.39
Lebanese lira	31
Egyptian pound	153.77

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### FOREIGN CURRENCY

Yesterday's foreign exchange rates against the Israeli Shekel, for U.S. dollar transactions under \$2000 and transactions of other currencies under the equivalent of \$500.

Selling	Buying
USS	182.0220 179.7782
Sterling	254.0863 250.9244
DM	66.9574 65.9455
French FR	21.7340 21.4660
Deutsch	58.1365 58.4074
Swiss FR	80.9167 79.9181
Belgian FR	22.5819 22.4022
Norwegian KR	23.4791 23.1897
Danish KR	18.1885 17.9943
Finnish MK	31.6010 31.2114
Canadian \$	141.2337 139.4827
Australian \$	167.9153 165.0435
Rand	144.7985 143.0135
Belgian Con (10)	32.7498 32.3458
Belgian Fin (10)	32.0744 31.6788
Austrian SRH (10)	94.7390 93.5711
Yen (100)	208.0977 206.1103
Spanish Ptas (100)	119.0884 117.6174
Italian Lire (1000)	108.1373 106.5042

ISRAELI: \$376.25/376.75n.e.

### INTERBANK SPOT RATES:

DM	2.723/03	per \$
Swiss FR	2.2485/95	per \$
French FR	8.3590/50	per \$
Italian Lire	186.25/25	per \$
Dutch G	3.0770/80	per \$
Yen	227.15/25	per \$
Deutsche KR	10.0050/01	per \$
Norwegian KR	7.7575/78	per \$
Swedish KR	8.0150/50	per \$
Belgian Con	86.70/80	per \$
Belgian Fin	85.58/53	per \$

### FORWARD RATES:

1 mo.	3 mo.	6 mo.
US	1.3896/77	1.4020/49
DM	2.1707/08	2.1820/49
Sw. FR	2.2324/49	2.2073/92

### Commercial Banks

(not part of "arrangement")	Price	Volume	Change
OHF	1900	—	—
Maritime 11	686	399	+62
Maritime 12	279	1100	+25
American 1	5169	16	n.e.
American 2	4075	16	n.e.
American 3	3130	14	n.e.
Danot 1	no trading	—	—
Danot 2	no trading	—	—
Danot 3	333	1391	+14
FIBI 1	446	6127	+58

### Commercial Banks (part of "arrangement")

(part of "arrangement")	Price	Volume	Change
IDB 1	no trading	—	—
IDB 2	no trading	—	—
IDB 3	no trading	—	—
IDB 4	no trading	—	—
IDB 5	5080	277	n.e.
Leumi 1	no trading	—	—
Leumi 2	no trading	—	—
Leumi 3	2845	424	+15
Leumi 4	2831	40	+46
Leumi 5	no trading	—	—
Leumi 6	2081	71	+12
Leumi 7	23945	—	—
Leumi 8	1270	10	n.e.
Leumi 9	6315	3	+574
Leumi 10	4605	618	+90
Leumi 11	4600	56	+30
Leumi 12	17680	—	+100
General 1	no trading	—	—
General 2	no trading	—	—
General 3	no trading	—	—
General 4	no trading	—	—
General 5	2910	2002	n.e.
General 6	4250	40	+340
General 7	1151	142	+1
General 8	4040	1	n.e.
General 9	2180	8	n.e.
General 10	3760	—	—

### Mortgage Banks

Mortgage Banks	Price	Volume	Change
Adom 1	1060	—	n.e.
Adom 2	1324	—	—
Adom 3	1324	—	—
Adom 4	835	11	+55
Adom 5	no trading	—	—
Adom 6	1981	11	+180
Adom 7	438	263	+68
Adom 8	465	—	n.e.
Adom 9	362	30	+2
Adom 10	3411	—	n.e.
Adom 11	2800	5	n.e.
Adom 12	1275	5	+55
Adom 13	1220	20	+17
Adom 14	621	7	n.e.
Adom 15	326	120	n.e.
Adom 16	215	50	+8
Adom 17	160	92	+143
Adom 18	331	278	+21

### Financial Institutions

Financial Institutions	Price	Volume	Change
Shilon 1	98	528	+3
Shilon 2	1760	—	+122
Shilon 3	13800	—	+7.5
Shilon 4	16000	—	+150
Shilon 5	1280	3	+50
Shilon 6	1223	—	n.e.
Shilon 7	9900	—	n.e.
Shilon 8	42600	—	+4.9
Shilon 9	26000	—	+2.4
Shilon 10	26000	—	+999
Shilon 11	24999	—	—
Shilon 12	7554	—	—
Shilon 13	181	82	+16
Shilon 14	18300	—	+5.1
Shilon 15	349	59	n.e.
Shilon 16	290	145	+5.5
Shilon 17	1185	38	n.e.

### Insurance

Insurance	Price	Volume	Change
Arche 1	620	68	n.e.
Arche 2	488	91	+2
Arche 3	4000	—	+46
Arche 4	288	22	-32
Arche 5	701	40	-10
Arche 6	201	40	+5.2
Arche 7	300	100	+20
Arche 8	153	4	+5.3
Arche 9	519	242	+4.9
Arche 10	1000	4	-4.6
Arche 11	400	21	+2.5
Arche 12	820	6	+3.1
Arche 13	741	—	+31
Arche 14	961	—	+41
Arche 15	315	—	+4.4
Arche 16	112	—	+6
Arche 17	115	—	+10.4
Arche 18	1089	1	-57
Arche 19	330	50	+20
Arche 20	1340	3	+3.9
Arche 21	297	439	+27
Arche 22	no trading	—	—
Arche 23	346	7	+10
Arche 24	142	52	n.e.

### Trade & Services

Trade & Services	Price	Volume	Change
Meir Ezra	460	423	+44
Meir Ezra 1	263	119	+30
Meir Ezra 2	202	9	-12
Meir Ezra 3	145	—	—
Meir Ezra 4	72	370	-3
Meir Ezra 5	402	151	+28
Meir Ezra 6	402	151	+28
Meir Ezra 7	234	97	+21
Meir Ezra 8	1251	—	+1
Meir Ezra 9	230	—	—
Meir Ezra 10	990	70	+40
Meir Ezra 11	464	40	+2.4
Meir Ezra 12	621	—	+5

### Industries

Industries	Price	Volume	Change
Alas	294	19	n.e.
Alas 1	129	107	n.e.
Alas 2	75	115	n.e.
Alas 3	51	37	+1
Alas 4	198	34	+18
Alas 5	77	473	+9
Alas 6	67	113	+3
Alas 7	3010	—	+50
Alas 8	2960	23	+170
Alas 9	301	5	+1
Alas 10	333	5	+1
Alas 11	627	261	+57
Alas 12	308	300	+36
Alas 13	316	100	+30
Alas 14	165	19	+2.6
Alas 15	310	—	+2.7
Alas 16	387	35	+1
Alas 17	240	179	+20
Alas 18	1840	—	-61
Alas 19	390	—	-32
Alas 20	291	57	+30
Alas 21	2350	42	+50
Alas 22	2600	16	-150

### Hotels, Tourism

Hotels, Tourism	Price	Volume	Change
Galei Zohar 1	550	18	n.e.
Galei Zohar 2	207	29	+2
Galei Zohar 3	974	13	+1.5
Galei Zohar 4	480	—	—
Galei Zohar 5	390	59	+14
Galei Zohar 6	230	15	+2.1
Galei Zohar 7	330	181	+12
Galei Zohar 8	134	100	+8
Galei Zohar 9	221	10	+4.7
Galei Zohar 10	148	31	n.e.

### Computers

Computers	Price	Volume	Change
Data	232	25	+2
Hilon 1	965	—	—
Hilon 2	550	—	—
Hilon 3	718	—	-5.0
Hilon 4	520	24	+8.3
Hilon 5	490	13	+3
Hilon 6	340	10	-1.3
Hilon 7	558	15	-3
Hilon 8	370	40	+30
Hilon 9	315	15	n.e.
Hilon 10	170	116	n.e.
Hilon 11	162	50	-4.7
Hilon 12	1465	9	+15
Hilon 13	1100	3	+10

### Real Estate, Building

Harel 5	1200	18
Lighterage 0.1	731	60
Lighterage 0.5	982	139
Cold Store 0.1	469	147
Cold Store 0.1	17899	1
Cold Store 1	11178	10
Israel Elec. r		no trading
Bond Ware 0.1	635	133
Bond Ware 0.5	448	280
Bond Ware op	230	190
Consort Hold 1	390	60
Consort 0.5	335	100
Consort op A	255	14
Kenel 1	344	—



Ari Rath  
Editor and  
Managing Director

THE JERUSALEM  
POST

Erwin Frenkel  
Editor

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Nissan 30, 5744 • Rajah 30, 1404

## Facing the issue

ALL SENSIBLE Israelis must be profoundly perturbed by the emerging picture of a sizeable covert Jewish vigilante organization intent upon anti-Arab terror. That sense of concern must transcend party differences and political affiliations. For the kinds of persons now being interrogated do not represent the social or political fringe. Whether secular or orthodox, their origins, their education, their records and their family ties place them squarely in the mainstream of the body politic.

Apart from the legal proceedings now underway, there can only be two responses adequate to the enormity of what has emerged. The society as such, and especially those ideological and political groups who nurtured, if unwittingly, the members of this underground must denounce and dissociate themselves from this phenomenon and at the same time begin a process of serious self-examination.

Unfortunately there are still no clear signs that this is taking place — perhaps because the people and groups most directly affected are still in shock. Instead there are angry statements denouncing attempts to indict the entire settlement movement. The only difficulty is that no one is doing that. Not the police, not the government, not the opposition and not the press.

Thus even last night Rabbi Haim Druckman's Matzav Party executive, denounced the attempt to blow up the buses, but quickly balanced this with criticism of those who would blame the settlement movement in general. However painful it may be, such equivocation is simply not good enough.

The best that can be said for Rabbi Druckman and Matzav is that they at least made a gesture. In contrast, the other National Religious Party leaders who, after 1967, spawned the entire nationalist and religious ethos from which, it appears, the terrorist deviation sprang, have not yet been heard from. Nor have any of the NRP party forums. That too is not good enough.

It is not good enough for this movement whose historic ideals would demand more. And it is not good enough for the nation which needs to hear once again a sane, moderate and moral voice of religious Zionism. The question is whether there will be anyone to break the awful silence.

## Syria tightens the noose

SYRIA took a further, significant step this week towards consolidating its hold on Lebanon when one of its staunchest Lebanese allies, Rashid Karamah, announced the formation of a national unity government made up equally of Moslems and Christians and including all the country's leading political personalities.

Lebanon's Maronite leadership — including Phalange leader Pierre Jemayel and former president Camille Chamoun — have already agreed to participate in Karamah's new government. Even Fadi Frem, the implacably anti-Syrian leader of the Lebanese Forces Christian militia has apparently shown signs of wavering in his resolve to fight to the end any Syrian-inspired initiative to bring order to Lebanon. He was quoted yesterday as being willing to play the role of a "constructive opposition" to the new administration.

The main obstacles as of last night were still being raised, not by the Christians, but by Syria's own allies on the Lebanese political stage — Druse leader Walid Jumblatt and Shi'ite leader Nabih Berri.

Both Jumblatt and Berri have made it known that they are disappointed with the somewhat peripheral portfolios that have been earmarked for them in the Karamah government, and have been coming under strong pressure from Syria to swallow their disappointment and play along.

The chances are that both men will in the end succumb and agree to dance to their master's tune. They may not especially like the turn events have taken since President Amin Jemayel earlier this year decided to throw in his lot with Damascus. That move immediately resulted in a lifting of Syrian pressure on the Maronites and a corresponding increase in Syrian pressure on the Druse and Shi'ites to make political concessions. Therefore Jumblatt and Berri may have good reason to resent the somewhat meagre political return they are receiving for helping Damascus bring Jemayel to his knees.

But ultimately, neither Jumblatt nor Berri has any realistic alternative to playing along with whatever Damascus has in store for them — this was true at the Lebanese conciliation conference in Switzerland earlier this year, and is likely to be true in the present case.

It is not easy for Israel to watch Syria reaping so many of the political benefits from the aftermath of the war in Lebanon. Certainly it should discomfit especially those who were the architects of the war.

But political stability in Lebanon, even under Syrian tutelage, is something that should be welcomed. For such stability provides the best chance for an orderly withdrawal of the IDF from Southern Lebanon in the near future.

EVERY YEAR the debate, however unsatisfactorily conducted, is renewed. The newspapers reflect the discussion in their pages. Simply put, the question is: why should we celebrate May Day?

Unfortunately, the answers to that question, even the examination of the underlying issues involved, are far from clear cut. Socialism, as a faith and as a movement, is a problematic commitment for its adherents and a colossal failure to its opponents.

The Soviet Union, the world's first self-proclaimed "socialist" state, has betrayed every primary principle associated with its alleged doctrine: they twist and pervert it through their party class of priests to suit the new and terrifying social reality over which they preside.

Instead of freedom, there is tyranny; instead of workers' control, there is control over the workers; instead of a new harmony between community and individual, there is the crushing indifference of the Soviet state eclipsing both.

Socialism and its international holiday, May Day, are symbols employed among others by a bizarre assortment of "left" totalitarian regimes and eclectic Third World "peoples' republics" with whom "we" should have nothing in common.

So much for the first exhibit for the prosecution.

One can take this line of reasoning to an absurd extreme: the Soviet constitution guarantees the free-

# The meaning of May Day

By DAVID TWERSKY

doms of speech and of religion — there is simply no connection between the written constitution and reality. Should we, liberals and democrats all, therefore, forsake freedom of speech? Is the fact that the Soviets cynically proclaim their fidelity to a system of values to which their power is a complete and utter contradiction, an argument against the value system — or, rather, against its abuse by the Soviets?

The language of socialism has been largely co-opted by its worst enemies. Should we, therefore, abandon those trenches and silence ourselves until a new vocabulary, free of the terrible legacy of this century, is forged? Or must we rather refuse to surrender the symbols which speak to us, which convey a message of meaning and hope to us?

Doesn't that second strategy represent a far greater defeat for the forces of oppression?

ADVOCATES of the Jewish and Israeli labour movements have long argued for the Jewish roots of the socialist ethic. They have viewed the meaning of May Day as a modern articulation of an ancient and universal human longing for liberation.

Ironically, May Day has American roots, tracing its origin to the American workers' struggle for an eight-hour day and the infamous Chicago Haymarket affair; and from there to the subsequent decision of the Socialist International to celebrate an annual demonstration of solidarity.

This is ironic because nowhere is May Day more ignored than in the United States. The Israeli labour movements, however, have made it part of the Israeli experience. It is no contradiction to Pessah, our national holiday of liberation, for Pessah introduced into history the idea of national liberation. May Day reminds us of the need to pursue universal liberation between nations

horizontally, and within nations vertically. Neither's promise has been fulfilled; both remain vehicles for sustaining courage and hope.

Without Pessah, we might ignore the basic human building block of the nation, the home of culture and memory. Without May Day, we could ignore the lesson that our national liberation does not mean liberating the Jewish people from the yoke of foreign domination, only to impose on ourselves an oppression distinguished by its local manufacture. May Day teaches us that we are all tied together across national lines in addition to — and not at the expense of — our deep national ties; that no nation can, therefore, be fully free in a world of oppression in which so many still live the lives we led in Egypt.

There is another brief for the prosecution which argues that dreams are all well and good but that "theoretical socialism," equality and democracy, are as pie-in-the-sky as previous theological fantasies. And that when it hits ground, the fantasy goes welfare-state sour, if not totalitarian-bloody.

ARE WE less well off, all of us, for the battles won by the labour movements here and elsewhere? If the use of the strike weapon is today a legitimate subject of debate, does anyone imagine that a return to the old ways, with no right to strike, is preferable? Are things like widespread health care (universal in

Israel) considered as a human right, failures or victories? Is the idea of the labour movement as an owner-producer — and a particularly productive producer at that — such a bad notion? Is the record of private capitalist ownership, unmixed? Was Ricardo's iron law of wages, which argued for the perpetual and severe exploitation of workers, rescinded by the gradual enlightenment of owners and managers or because of the democratic victories of labour movements? Is the kibbutz, for all its compromises and failures, the highest symbol of democracy and socialism, synthesized and not in contradiction, a massive mistake — or one successful expression of the weaving together of Jewish, Zionist and socialist threads?

The debate should be about freedom and what it means: about social solidarity; about economic vision; about the extension of democracy to the workplace, rather than its shrinking concentration in the boardroom; about how we Jews should make our way in the world.

We still need to dream and to hope and to strive to make our world better and to keep it from getting worse. For those of us who believe in the promise of a free, democratic labour movement, May Day remains a vehicle for our striving, and an expression of our hopes.

The writer is the editor of *Spectrum* and a member of Kibbutz Green.

# Teaching the unthinkable

"proud," for these young people, soon to become our children's teachers, the Holocaust is by no means an exclusively Ashkenazi experience.

The question posed by Mr. Bedein is, however, an interesting one. How does one "teach the Holocaust" — perceived by many as impossible to put into words, never mind textbooks?

To post-war generations the Holocaust is often seen as just another incident in history, like the discovery of America or 1066. Many non-Jewish children don't even know the meaning of the word, while some Israeli children still view this dark period of their history with shame, seeing Europe's Jews "going like lambs to the slaughter."

ALTHOUGH INTEREST in the Holocaust has recently revived with extended media attention, including the popular television series, and the up-surge of anti-Semitic and Neo-Nazi literature, the passage of time

has rendered today's youth emotionally distant from the event and perhaps for this reason unable, as Mr. Bedein maintains, to "relate to the Holocaust."

Holocaust studies have recently become compulsory in both Israeli and some American high schools, but problems faced by teachers in the two countries differ, just as general attitudes to the event vary among Jews and gentiles, Israelis and Diaspora Jews.

David Yellin Teachers College faculty member Hadara Keich is responsible for instructing Israel's future teachers in Holocaust studies. She finds that problems faced by teachers of the Holocaust in Israel have little to do with Sephardi/Ashkenazi divisions. Some Israeli children, and teachers, have had trouble coming to terms with the Holocaust because they are ashamed of European Jewry for "allowing" this terrible thing to happen. Having been born and bred in a defensible Jewish state, they just cannot under-

stand helplessness in the face of mortal threat.

This attitude has, she said, been steadily decreasing since the time of the Eichmann trial, and with the help of educational programmes such as those provided by the college. She sees it being replaced by an ability to view the Holocaust in the context of the history of Jewish persecution and as an event whose repercussions are still being felt by all mankind. Neither past nor present attitudes have, she claims, involved any internal divisions. "It is generally recognized that the Holocaust happened to the Jews as a people, not to a section of them."

The American school system is also currently trying to come to terms with the Holocaust. Whereas ten years ago no high schools in the New York area offered units on the subject, Holocaust studies are now a mandatory part of all curricula.

American educator Bernice Wigder teaches the Holocaust to the largely non-white student population of Far Rockaway High School, New York; a project she has been struggling to realize for over ten years.

Her early attempts to institute the course were rejected outright, though both her faculty head and principal were Jewish. When public schools in Teaneck, New Jersey and Cleveland Heights introduced courses in Holocaust studies in 1975, subsequent media coverage led to a reconsideration, and Mrs. Wigder was offered the supervision of a

three week course under the title "Man's Inhumanity to Man." Mrs. Wigder countered that she would need six months, and refused to teach the Holocaust as anything other than a "Jewish subject." "Just as slavery is about black people," she maintains, "this is about Jews. It was not a universal experience but a Jewish one."

The course, which includes guest lectures by survivors and an extensive bibliography, was so popular that enrolment doubled within a year. One of Mrs. Wigder's major concerns is to impress upon students that the Holocaust happened to Jews. "When students try to compare it to slavery in America, I point out the obvious differences, explaining that the Nazi intention was genocide."

The success of Mrs. Wigder's and other Holocaust courses prompted an editorial in the *New York Times* in 1977 suggesting that such programmes be implemented in all schools. By 1979 the Board of Education had included Holocaust studies as a mandatory subject. Originally "too hot to handle," the subject had become recognized as a crucial ingredient of general education.

The problem of how to teach an event without precedent or parallel in human history is a difficult one, but it is at least now being tackled on both sides of the Atlantic.

The writer is a free-lance journalist from Australia.

## READERS' LETTERS

### THE COST OF ELECTRICITY

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — I refer to F. Feist's letter of April 10 concerning advance payment for the use of electric current. The suggestion that, when this payment is deducted from the bill, the Electric Corporation should pay interest or linkage on the sum involved is not justified for the following reasons:

1. It is not true that the consumer gives the Electric Corporation an interest-free loan, since the Corporation supplies the consumer with electricity within 60 days and receives payment after an additional 20 days. This situation reflects the inclusion of a 50-day credit, which the advance payment reduces, but the consumer still gets free credit for 12 days of electricity.

2. By the time the bill is paid, the price of electricity is usually much higher than it was when it was used. The Corporation does not charge the consumer the higher price in force at the time of payment, but the lower one which prevailed at the time of actual supply, without interest or linkage, and it is therefore logical to

deduct the advance payment without linkage.

3. As its name implies, the payment on account of current use is meant to cover in part the cost of the electricity used by the consumer during the period covered by the bill. If the amount were returned with linkage, this aim would be defeated and the Electric Corporation would have to bear very high financing expenses, since the consumer would enjoy both electricity at unlinked prices and an average credit of 50 days.

4. Since the Electric Corporation sells electricity at cost price, the unwarranted financing expenses would increase the cost of production and raise the price of electricity considerably. Obviously, it is the consumer who benefits from a reduction in the cost of financing thanks to the system of advance payments, as he pays less for every kilowatt he uses.

AVRI RAVIV,  
Spokesman Israel Electric Corporation

Haifa.

### ELECTIONS

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — The Likud will win the coming general elections by default.

Tens of thousands of Israeli voters, who could return the Labour opposition to power, won't be home on July 23. They will be in Europe or in the U.S. telling people what a dreadful shape the Israeli economy is in, how expensive it has become to continue taking long vacations abroad, and how futile it is to try and bring about change.

The Shamir government may not know how to govern, but it knows how to win.

JERRY EDENSON

Toronto.

### PENFRIEND

MRS. M. I. ETHERIDGE of 138 Gemstone Drive, Parkdale, Upper Hutt, New Zealand, would like to have Israeli penfriends. She is interested in children, education, crafts and gardening.

NOACH DEAR,  
Member, New York City Council  
Jerusalem (Brooklyn)

### ISOLATION IN SPORT

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — Your issue of April 24 carries a long account on the results of South Africa's isolation in sport.

Isn't it ironic that Russia, whose record on human rights surely is infinitely worse than South Africa's, or indeed than most countries in the western world, is accepted and often dominates all fields of international sport, including the Olympic Games?

R. M. MENDEL  
Ramat Hasharon

### MOVIE REVIEW

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — Film reviewer Dan Fainaru's evaluation of Barbra Streisand's film *Yentl* (April 20) is, in my opinion, confused and filled with gratuitous, irrelevant comments.

While recognizing that it is "allegorical," which is true, he looks for "plausibility," meaning, it appears, that the girl, Yentl, must be realistically "believable" as a boy; and that the "love story" — because it is "an acute case of sexual confusion" (sic!) — should have been presented in a "contemporary" way, free of the "now extinct Hays-office-morality" (a touch of pornography, maybe?). He misses the point in at least two major ways: first, Streisand's *Yentl* is essentially a fantasy, for which one is supposed to suspend expectation of literalness; and second, the love story is not the important theme.

I am at a loss to figure out where he comes off stating that Streisand "has always been a prude in her screen roles," or using phrases like "a laundered Yentl" and "wanting to be another Chaplin." And what on earth is an "anonymous" song? Did he see the same film I saw?

Fainaru to the contrary, I think Streisand clearly achieves what she set out to do — to make a point in an allegorical framework for women's rights to equal treatment at any time.

not just in the context of studying Torah in a yeshiva in an old-country shtetl.

He grudgingly admits that, in spite of all, *Yentl* "is not a bad film." A gross understatement. The film is a remarkable tour-de-force by a fabulous singer and talented actress who also co-authored, produced and directed it; it is a worldwide hit and certainly should have received more Oscars than it did.

ABE KRAMER

Jerusalem.

### BRINKMANSHIP

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — Every thinking person in this land must lose sleep over the possibility that the Shamir government may involve us in a confrontation with the Syrians and instigate a dreadful diversion coupled with the usual "patriotic" appeal against criticism of military actions.

It must be made clear that, despite the plethora of ministerial threats and accusations, bluster and pretensions of innocent wonder at Syrian fears, this people will not blame the enemy this time. God forbid, hostilities develop from incompetent miscalculation or callous brinkmanship.

B. HALPERN.

Tel Aviv.

## POSTSCRIPTS

**PS** THE UNITED STATES population is shifting from north to south, and although New York is still the biggest city, Los Angeles has replaced Chicago in second place, the U.S. census bureau says.

New York City has 7.09 million inhabitants, Los Angeles 3.02 million and Chicago 2.99 million.

Houston, in the southern "sun belt," had the fastest growth rate, 8.2 per cent, to 1.73 million, moving into fourth place past Philadelphia, which dropped 1.4 per cent to 1.69 million.

The others in the top 10 are Detroit and four Sun Belt cities: Dallas, San Diego, Phoenix and San Antonio.

Baltimore dropped out of the top 10, Washington fell from 16th to 17th place with a 0.8 per cent population decline to 638,000.

**PS** AN UNPUBLISHED novel by Graham Greene which he had forgotten writing has turned up after almost 40 years in a Hollywood vault, London's *Sunday Times* reported recently.

The newspaper quotes the British author as saying he intended to try to stop publication when he first heard about the find.

But he added: "Then, to my disgust, I found it was really rather good: in fact rather better than *The Third Man*. Greene wrote the short novel, called *The Tenth Man*, while working for the movie company MGM shortly after his release from war-time service with British security services.

Set in France immediately after its liberation from the Nazis in 1944, the book is expected to be published next February, the newspaper said.

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